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**THE
L I F E
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.**

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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——Tueri enim eorum memoriam, quorum merita multa in homines et præclara extiterunt, æquitatis et justitiæ laudem habet.

Jo. Mich. Brutus, ad Tingium.

P R E F A C E.

FOR almost three centuries the curiosity of mankind has been directed towards the age of LEO THE TENTH. The history of that period has not, however, yet been attempted in a manner in any degree equal to the grandeur and variety of the subject. Nor is this difficult to be accounted for. Attractive as such an undertaking may at first appear, it will be found on a nearer inspection to be surrounded by many difficulties. The magnitude of such a task ; the trouble of collecting the materials necessary to its proper execution ; the long devotion of time and of labour which it must unavoidably require, and, above all, the apprehensions of not fulfilling the high expectations which have been formed of it, are some of those circumstances which have perhaps prevented the accomplishment of a work which has often been suggested, sometimes closely contemplated, but hitherto cautiously declined.

The same considerations which have deterred others from engaging in so laborious and hazardous an attempt, would in all probability have produced a similar effect on myself, had I not been led by imperceptible degrees to a situation in which I could scarcely, with either propriety or credit, have declined the task. The history of the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Leo X. had opened the way to a variety of researches, not less connected with the events of the ensuing period, than with those of the times for which they were immediately intended; and even that work was considered by many, perhaps not unjustly, as only the vestibule to a more spacious building, which it would be incumbent on the author at some future period to complete. Since that publication the friendship and liberality of several distinguished characters, both at home and abroad, have supplied me with many valuable communications and original documents, which without their countenance and favour, it would not have been in my power to obtain. To have withheld these materials from the public, would have defeated the purpose for which they were communicated; and to have shrunk from the task under such circumstances, would have given occasion for a construction almost

as unfavourable to myself as the failure of success. These reflections have induced me, amidst the constant engagements of an active life, to persevere in an undertaking, which has occasionally called for exertions beyond what my time, my talents, or my health could always supply ; and I now submit to the public the result of the labour of many years, in the best form in which, under all circumstances, it has been in my power to offer it to their acceptance.

Although I have entitled the following work **THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.** yet I have not only thought it excusable, but even found it necessary to enter into the general history of the times ; without which it would have been impossible to give so full an idea of the character and conduct of this celebrated pontiff, as it was my wish to communicate. Nor can I regret the opportunity which has thus been afforded me, of examining more fully than has perhaps hitherto been done, a period productive of great and important events, and which exhibits almost every diversity of human character. Respecting the propriety of this union of individual biography with general history, I am well aware, that doubts have been entertained by persons of considerable eminence in literature. That there

are certain limits between the province of the historian, and that of the biographer, may readily be admitted ; yet, as these branches of study are equally conversant with the individuals of our own species, it will unavoidably happen, that each of them will at times encroach upon the precincts of the other. In perusing the pages of Livy or of Tacitus, of Hume or of Gibbon, we find no parts which interest us more than the private and personal memorials of those great and illustrious men who have acted a conspicuous part in the public events of the age ; whilst, on the other hand, it would be impossible to form a correct idea of the character of an individual, without considering him in those relations, by which he stands connected with the general transactions of the times in which he lived, and which in truth have not only displayed, but in some measure formed his character. That these mutual concessions may admit of abuse, cannot be doubted ; yet, if the great objects of pleasure and utility be obtained, that criticism would perhaps be too rigid, which would narrowly restrict so advantageous an interchange. In tracing the history of a people through any considerable portion of time, the attention is weakened, and the feelings are blunted, by the rapid succession of events and characters,

in which we might have been more deeply interested, if our information respecting them had been more minute. The history of mankind may be compared to the surface of the earth, which is composed of wild woods and trackless deserts, interspersed, however, with cultivated spots, and peculiar appearances of nature. The traveller passes heedlessly over the undiversified prospect, and dwells only on such parts as for their beauty, sublimity, or singularity, he deems most worthy of his regard.

These observations, it is hoped, may serve as an apology for my having entered so much at large into the history of many transactions, which, although they were not influenced in any eminent degree by the personal interference of Leo X., greatly affected the fortunes of his early years. Of this nature is the narrative of the irruption of Charles VIII. into Italy ; an enterprize which, as Mr. Gibbon asserts, changed the face of Europe, and of which he at one time meditated a distinct and separate history. The siege of Pisa, as long and as eventful as the celebrated siege of Troy, is so closely connected with all the political events and negotiations of the time, and in particular with the fate of the three brothers of the Medici, as unavoidably to obtrude itself upon

our frequent notice. In adverting to the pontificate of Alexander VI. it is impossible to avoid being forcibly struck with the energy, or rather the atrocity of character by which that pontiff and his son Cæsar Borgia were distinguished; and the singular transactions recorded of them, must occasionally give rise to doubts, which the labours of the most industrious and impartial inquirer will scarcely be adequate to remove. With the fortunes of the Medici, the effects of the memorable league of Cambray, which alone has been the subject of several volumes, are still more closely connected; whilst the conquest of Naples, and the expulsion of the royal family of Aragon by the united arms of Louis XII. and of Ferdinand of Spain, and the subsequent disagreement and contests of those monarchs for the dominion of that kingdom, claim our attention, no less on account of their connexion with our principal subject, than by their intrinsic importance.

An opinion has of late been very generally advanced both in this country and abroad, that notwithstanding the improvement which took place in Italy, in the age of Leo X. a very moderate portion of it is to be attributed to the personal exertions, talents, and patronage of that pontiff; and that by giving to this

period the ostentatious title of **THE AGE OF LEO X.** we deprive the other eminent patrons of literature who flourished during the same æra, of that praise to which they are justly entitled. I ought not very earnestly to oppose an opinion, which, if espoused by my readers, would relieve me from a great part of my responsibility. Yet, that Leo, during his short pontificate of less than nine years, exerted himself with considerable effect in the promotion of literature and the restoration of the fine arts, cannot be doubted; and as his services have never yet been sufficiently appreciated, or collected into one point of view, an attempt to supply what has hitherto been wanting in this respect, may be entitled at least to pardon. The effects produced by Leo on the character of the times, will, however, be better estimated, when the transactions of his life shall have been more fully unfolded. I shall afterwards return to this important and essential part of my subject, and endeavour to ascertain the amount of the obligations due from posterity to Leo the Tenth.

The earliest professed history of Leo X. is that of Paolo Giovio, better known by his Latin appellation of *Paullus Jovius*. This author, the character of whose various productions is sufficiently known, had every oppor-

tunity of obtaining the most exact and authentic information on the subject of his history. His life of Leo X., written like the rest of his works, in Latin, is one of the most valuable of his productions, containing much authentic information, and being perhaps less tinctured than the generality of his labours with that satirical spirit, which its author on many occasions evinced.

With this history of Leo X. by Jovius, and the Italian translation by Dominichi, printed at Florence in 1549, the learned world seems to have remained satisfied for upwards of two centuries. Many incidental anecdotes and brief memoirs of this distinguished pontiff were in the mean time given to the public; but the first serious intention of connecting the life of Leo X. with the history of the revival of learning, appears to have arisen in our own country, where the elegant and pathetic poet William Collins, about the middle of the last century, is said to have published proposals for such a history. "I have heard him speak with great kindness," says Dr. Johnson, "of Leo X., and with keen resentment of his tasteless successor; but probably not a page of the history was ever written." Much as we may regret the failure of this enterprise, those whom nature has endowed with

the capacity of feeling the charm of the tender and impassioned productions of this author, will regret still more those calamities that prevented him from increasing the number of his poetical works, which have justly been characterized, as exhibiting “a luxuriance of imagination, a wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity of expression so extraordinary, that they might be supposed to be suggested by some superior power, rather than to be the effect of human judgment or capacity.”

Among the friends of Collins, who seem to have shared his confidence and his studies, was Mr. Thomas Warton, by whom the design of giving a history of the restoration of Letters in Europe was continued, or revived. In the excellent Essay of his brother, Dr. Warton, on the life and writings of Pope, is the following passage: “Concerning the particular encouragement given by Leo X. to literature and the fine arts, I forbear to enlarge; because a friend of mine is at present engaged in writing the HISTORY OF THE AGE OF LEO THE TENTH. It is a noble period, and full of those most important events, which have had the greatest influence on human affairs. Such as the discovery of the West Indies by the Spaniards, and of a passage to the East by the Portuguese; the invention of printing; the

reformation of religion; with many others; all of which will be insisted upon at large, and their consequences displayed." As the Essay which contains this passage was first published in 1756, the same year in which Collins died, it is possible that this notice was intended to refer to his undertaking; but it is also certain, that on his death, the design was not abandoned by his surviving friends. In a conversation which I had the pleasure of enjoying with Dr. Warton, in the year 1797, the progress made in an undertaking which had been so long announced to the public, became an object of my inquiry. By him I was informed that it had been the intention of himself, his brother, and several of their literary friends, to give a history of the revival of letters, not only in Italy, but in all the principal countries of Europe; and that the history of English Poetry by Mr. Thomas Warton, was only a part of this great design. When we advert to the various and excellent critical productions of these liberal and learned brothers, and consider that among the names of their coadjutors, would probably have been found those of West, of Walpole, of Mason, and of Gray, we cannot sufficiently lament the want of public encouragement, which was, in all probability, the chief cause that prevent-

ed this noble and extensive undertaking from being carried into complete execution.

In Italy the life and transactions of Leo X. have within these few years been the subject of a work of no inconsiderable merit. To the writings of the late much lamented and learned Monsignore Angelo Fabroni, *Provveditore*, or Principal, of the university of Pisa, I have before been indebted for many important facts in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; some of which I have examined with that freedom, which, to some authors, would have been a cause of offence, but which a liberal mind will always prefer to the vain homage of indiscriminate applause. The attempt which I then made to illustrate a period of history, which had been the peculiar object of his inquiry, had the good fortune to obtain his approbation. Under his auspices, the English Life of Lorenzo de' Medici was elegantly translated into Italian by the Cavaliero Mecherini, and published at Pisa in the year 1799. I was afterwards honoured by the correspondence of Monsignore Fabroni, which was continued until the time of his death, in the latter part of the year 1803; and in the course of which he transmitted to me his "Life of Leo X.," written in Latin, and published at Pisa in the year 1797. In this work the learned author has not confined himself to the account given of

Leo X. by Jovius, but has collected much original information respecting this pontiff, and the age in which he lived. By the aid of these resources he was enabled to throw additional light on his subject; whilst the valuable collection of documents published by him at the close of his work, not only confirms his narrative, but supplies important materials for future historians. As the work was not, however, intended by the author, so it must not be expected by the public, to contain a very full and extensive account of the progress made during the pontificate of Leo X. in the departments of science, of literature, or of art; or of those very numerous and distinguished men, to whose writings and labours the reign of that pontiff is indebted for its principal lustre.

But besides these professed histories of Leo X., several works have appeared which are chiefly confined to the elucidation of some particular parts of his life, or of those of the times in which he lived. Among these are the history of the League of Cambray, by some attributed to the pen of Cardinal Polignac, but more generally thought to be the work of the Abbe Du Bos; the narrative of the battle of the Taro, between Charles VIII. and the allied army of Italy, by Benedetti; the lives of Alexander VI. and his

son Cæsar Borgia, by Gordon; the dialogue of Raffaello Brandolini, entitled LEO; and the commentary of Galeazzo Capella, on the efforts made for the restoration of Francesco Sforza to the duchy of Milan; with many other publications of a similar nature, of which it will appear that I have frequently availed myself in the course of the following work.

The detached and particular histories to which I have before adverted, contain, however, but a small portion of that immense mass of information which remains to the present times, respecting the public and private character and conduct of Leo X. From the high dignity which he enjoyed, both as a secular and an ecclesiastical potentate, and from the active part which he took in all the transactions which affected the state of Europe, his life is intimately connected with the general history of the age; insomuch, that there is not an author who has had occasion to treat on the events of this period, in whose work he does not occupy a conspicuous station.

To these, the recorders of the political, civil, and military events of the times, I might add a long train of literary historians, to whom I have been greatly indebted for that

department of the following work, which is intended to illustrate the state of letters and of science ; among these must be distinguished the immortal work of Tiraboschi ; the noblest specimen of that species of composition which any age or country has produced ; and the accurate and comprehensive account of the writers of Italy, by Mazzuchelli, who, in grasping at an object too extended for human talents, or human life, has executed in six volumes in folio a comparatively small portion of his colossal attempt.

I shall not, on this occasion, weary the reader by enumerating the many other various and excellent authors, either in this department, or in that of the fine arts, in which the Italians abound beyond any other country, who have afforded their assistance in the following pages ; but I must avail myself of this opportunity finally to observe, that I have made it an invariable rule, in the accounts which I have found it necessary to give of the writings and characters of men of literary eminence, to resort for information to their own works, as far as my opportunities would permit, and to found my opinions, and draw my deductions from them, rather than from those of any subsequent writer. How far I have been enabled thus to derive my in-

telligence from its primitive channels, will sufficiently appear in the course of my work ; in which it has been my practice to refer to the author from whom I have actually quoted ; and who must be considered as answerable for the accuracy of the citation when the original has not fallen in my way.

Such are the works relating to the life of Leo X., and the times in which he lived, which have already been published, and of which I have availed myself in the course of the ensuing narrative ; but, besides these more ostensible sources of information, I have, during a series of years, been enabled to collect many original documents, which have served to throw considerable light on the times to which the following pages relate. Of these, one of the most important acquisitions consists of a series of letters and papers, copied from the originals in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio*, at Florence, and forming two volumes in folio, of about three hundred pages each. For this valuable collection I am indebted to the obliging and disinterested interference of a nobleman, who adds dignity to his station, not only by the firm and consistent tenor of his public conduct, but by his encouragement of those literary studies, in which he has himself made so distinguished

a proficiency. The liberal views of Lord Holland were seconded by the kind assistance of Mr. Penrose, late chaplain to the British embassy at Florence, and were carried into complete effect by the generosity of the Grand Duke; who directed that access should be had at all times to the original state papers, and every possible facility given to these researches. The first part of this collection consists chiefly of letters written by the great Lorenzo de' Medici, father of the pontiff, relating principally to the promotion of his son to the rank of cardinal. From these letters, which have enabled me to place this event in its fullest light, I might have given much larger extracts, but as they elucidate only this single circumstance, it will perhaps be thought that I have been sufficiently copious in my authorities on this head. This collection also comprises a series of letters written by Balthazar Turini, commonly called Balthazar, or Baldassare da Pescia, then at Rome, to Lorenzo de' Medici, the nephew of the pontiff, who resided at Florence during the early part of the pontificate of Leo X. From these, none of which have heretofore been printed, it appears that the writer was appointed assistant Datary, or Secretary, to transmit to Florence the fullest information on every event that

took place at Rome, not only with respect to public transactions, but to the private concerns of every branch of the family of the Medici. In the execution of this office he seems to have acted under the immediate directions of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterward Clement VII., who was intrusted by Leo X. with the superintendence of the government of the Florentine state, and to whose suggestions Lorenzo was expected implicitly to conform. These letters, although they extend only from the month of March to the month of September, in the second year of the pontificate of Leo X. (1514), throw considerable light on the characters of the persons there mentioned, and suggest or illustrate many curious and important circumstances; but, besides these, the most material subjects, this collection of papers is interspersed with other documents of considerable interest, not heretofore published, and which will be more particularly noticed in the course of the following work.

In adverting to the assistance which I have derived from the city of Florence, that cradle of the arts in modern times, I must not omit to notice the favours conferred on me by the late venerable and learned Canonico Angelo Maria Bandini, principal librarian of the

Laurentian library there. Of a character so well known in the literary world, any commendation of mine would be superfluous; yet I cannot avoid remarking it as an extraordinary circumstance, that he maintained a high rank among the scholars of Italy during the long space of sixty years, and that some account of him and his early productions was given in the great work of Mazzuchelli, the publication of which he survived nearly half a century. During this period he continued to enrich the republic of letters by many other works; some of which, as they bear a particular reference to the history of the Medici, will be referred to in the following pages. To this eminent man, who retained his early and ardent love of literature to the close of his days, I am also indebted for the communication of several scarce and valuable documents, both printed and manuscript, as well as for various letters, indicating to me, with the utmost attention and minuteness, those sources of information which his long and intimate acquaintance with the subjects of the following volumes had enabled him to point out.

In the prosecution of this work, I was, however, well aware that the most important information for my purpose might be derived

from the immense collections of the Vatican, and could not but regret, that from the calamitous state of public affairs, the distance of my own situation from these records, and other circumstances, there was little probability that I should be able to surmount the formidable obstacles that presented themselves to its attainment. From this state of despondency I was however fortunately relieved, by the unsolicited kindness of John Johnson, Esquire, then on his travels through Italy, who, with a liberality which demands my warmest acknowledgments, obtained for me, by means of his acquaintance with the Abate Gaetano Marini, the learned Prefect of the Archives of the Vatican, a considerable number of important documents, copied as well from the manuscripts in that collection, as from printed works of extreme rarity, which relate to the affairs of the Roman court in the time of Leo X. and which are, for the most part, to be found only in that collection. Among the former is the fragment of an unpublished life of Leo X. written in Latin, with considerable elegance, and brought down to the year 1516. The printed works consist principally of letters and orations of the ambassadors of foreign states to Leo X., and were probably only printed for the exclusive

use of the Roman court. Besides these, I had also the pleasure of receiving an entire copy of the very scarce and curious tract of Jacopo Penni, containing the most particular account which now remains of the ceremonies and splendid exhibitions that took place in Rome on the elevation of Leo X., which, with many other pieces from the same authentic quarter, the reader will find in the Appendix to the ensuing volumes.

To the continued favour and friendly recommendations of the same gentleman during his progress through Italy, I am also indebted for my literary intercourse with the celebrated Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice, well known to the learned world as the author of many estimable works. From him I have received much useful information respecting the publications necessary for my purpose, accompanied by some scarce tracts, and by his own judicious and interesting remarks. I am sensible that in thus paying the tribute of gratitude to the most illustrious scholars of Italy, I may be suspected of attempting to support my own weak endeavours upon the established reputation of their names ; but I have not been deterred by this consideration from discharging what I esteem to be an indispensable obligation to the living,

and a sacred duty to the dead; being well convinced that the favours conferred upon me, can no more excuse the imperfections of my work, than those imperfections can detract from the high character, which the persons to whom I have referred have so justly and so universally obtained.

Respecting the private lives of Leo X. and his predecessors Alexander VI. and Julius II. considerable information is derived from the diaries of the successive officers of the Roman court, who were styled Masters of the Ceremonies of the pope's chapel, and who seem to have considered it as part of their duty to keep a register of such transactions as occurred under their own eye, or came to their knowledge. The first of these officers whose labours appear to have been preserved, is Giovanni Burcardo, Broccardo, or as he is more usually called, Burchard, a native of Strasbourg, and dean of the church of St. Thomas in that city. He afterwards transferred his residence to Rome, where he obtained several ecclesiastical preferments, and was appointed master of the ceremonies on the twenty-first day of December, 1483, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. A few months afterwards he commenced his journal, which during the life of Sixtus IV. was confined to a

few slight and unimportant minutes. On the death of that pontiff he extended his plan, and has occasionally enriched it with anecdotes, and adverted to circumstances not strictly confined to the limits of his office. His diary is written in Latin, in a pedestrian and semi-barbarian style, but with an apparent accuracy and minuteness as to facts, which, notwithstanding the singular circumstances related by him, give it an air of veracity. Such part as adverts to the life of Alexander VI. has been published almost entire. Large extracts from it have also been given by several authors who have been inclined to expatiate on the enormities of this pontiff, and particularly by Gordon, in his life of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, printed at London in 1729. After the death of Alexander, Burchard was appointed by Julius II. bishop of Horta, in the possession of which dignity he died on the sixteenth day of May, 1506.

About two years before the death of Burchard, he had a colleague or assistant in Paris de Grassis, who also succeeded him as master of the ceremonies. This officer has also kept a diary, which commences on the twelfth day of May, 1504, and is continued throughout the rest of the pontificate of Ju-

lius II. and the whole of that of Leo X. It has never been printed entire, but some detached parts have been published ; and it has also been consulted by several writers who have given extracts from it in their works.

From the narrative of Paris de Grassis, it appears that he was a native of Bologna, of a respectable family. His brother Achilles was, in the year 1511, raised by Julius II. to the dignity of the purple, and was one of the most learned and respectable members of the college. Another brother, Agamemnon, (for the family names seem to have been sought for in Homer, rather than in the books of the Old and New Testament) was, in the year 1510, ambassador from the city of Bologna to the Pope. The assiduities of Paris, as master of the ceremonies, could not conciliate the favour of that austere pontiff Julius II., but in the vacancy of the holy see, which occurred on the death of that pope, he obtained from the sacred college, as a reward for his services, the promise of the bishopric of Pesaro, united with the abbey of Santa Croce. These dignities were afterwards confirmed to him by Leo X., who also nominated him a prelate of the palace, and appointed his nephew to be his coadjutor in the office of master of the

ceremonies. He survived that pontiff, and died at Rome on the tenth day of June, 1528.

The style of Paris de Grassis, like that of his predecessor, has little pretensions to elegance. It is, however, rendered interesting by its simplicity, which gives to his narration a character of fidelity. In the exercise of his functions he seems to have been a more rigid disciplinarian than even Burchard himself, and it is somewhat amusing to observe the importance which he frequently attaches to his office, and the severity with which he reproves those relaxations from the dignity of his high rank, in which Leo, on some occasions, indulged himself.

Among the objects of my earnest inquiry, was the unpublished part of the diary of Paris de Grassis, which yet exists in the library of the Vatican, and of which copies are also found in the National Library at Paris. Of this diary, as well as of that of Burchard, some of the most interesting particulars have already been given to the public, in the work entitled, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, which has been continued under the title of *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*; but, as the extracts thus made are not in general

given in the original Latin, but are for the most part abridged, and translated into French, I have not derived from this work the advantages which I might otherwise have obtained. It happened, however, fortunately for my purpose, that in the summer of the year 1802, my particular friend and neighbour, the Reverend W. Shepherd, well known as the author of *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, paid a visit to Paris. On this occasion I scrupled not to request his assistance in examining for me the different manuscripts of the diary of Paris de Grassis, and making such extracts from them, in the original, as he conceived would be most interesting. As no one can be better qualified for such a task, so no one could have entered upon it with greater alacrity. During his stay at Paris, a considerable portion of his time was passed in these researches, in which he met with every possible facility from the librarians; and on his return, he brought with him several curious extracts, which have enabled me to throw additional light on the history of Leo X., and particularly on the singular circumstances attending his death.

Nor have I, in the course of my inquiries, wholly omitted the opportunities which even this country affords, of collecting information

from unpublished documents respecting the times in question. Among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum, are contained many original letters from the Roman court, and the English ambassadors resident there, to Henry VIII. and his ministers, explanatory of the political transactions of the age. I had not an opportunity of examining these papers until my work was considerably advanced; but by the kind assistance of my highly respected friend, John Walker, Esq. of Bedford-square, and by the obliging attention of Mr. Planta, principal librarian of the British Museum, I have been enabled to inform myself of such documents as were more particularly applicable to my purpose, some of which the reader will find, either given entire in the appendix, or referred to in the course of the work.

Although I have for several years endeavoured, at great expense, and with considerable success, to collect such printed works as appeared to be necessary for the present undertaking, yet I have not neglected to solicit the assistance, or to avail myself of the offers of several persons, on whose friendship and liberality I could rely, to furnish me with such publications as I had not had the good fortune elsewhere to obtain. To the very obliging li-

berality of Richard Heber, Esq. of Hodnet, whose library is particularly enriched by the early editions of the works of the modern writers of Latin poetry, I am indebted for the use of many of the scarce publications in that department, referred to in the following volumes, which have enabled me to discuss the subjects to which they relate, with greater confidence than I could possibly have done through the secondary medium of other writers. The very select library of my early literary associate, and long valued friend, William Clarke, Esq. of Everton, has also been of frequent use to me in the course of my researches, during which I have derived additional assistance from his extensive learning and very particular acquaintance with the literary history of Italy. My acknowledgments are also due for the use of scarce books and manuscripts, or for other favours in the course of my work, to Dr. James Currie, late of Liverpool, but now of Bath, well known by his many valuable publications, both on scientific and literary subjects, and whom I am proud to record on this occasion, as my long esteemed and excellent friend; the Rev. Wm. Parr Greswell, author of *Memoirs of Italian Scholars who have written Latin poetry*; Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter prin-

cipal King of Arms ; Mr. Wm. Smyth, Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge ; Henry Brown, Esq. of Liverpool ; the Rev. Mr. Hincks, of Cork ; the Rev. Mr. Crane, Vicar of Over, in Cheshire ; the Rev. John Greswell, of the college, Manchester ; and to several other persons, who will, I hope, excuse a more particular acknowledgment, in the confidence that I am not insensible of their favours.

With respect to the execution of the following work, I cannot but be well aware, that many circumstances and characters will be found represented in a light somewhat different from that in which they have generally been viewed, and that I may probably be accused of having suffered myself to be induced by the force of prejudice, or the affectation of novelty, to remove what have hitherto been considered as the land-marks of history. To imputations of this kind I feel the most perfect indifference. Truth alone has been my guide, and whenever she has steadily diffused her light, I have endeavoured to delineate the objects in their real form and colour. History is the record of the experience of mankind, in their most important concerns. If it be impossible for human sagacity to estimate the consequences of a falsehood in private life, it is equally impossible to estimate the conse-

quences of a false or partial representation of the events of former times. The conduct of the present is regulated by the experience of the past. The circumstances which have led the way to the prosperity or destruction of states, will lead the way to the prosperity or destruction of states in all future ages. If those in high authority be better informed than others, it is from this source that their information must be drawn; and to pollute it, is therefore to poison the only channel through which we can derive that knowledge, which, if it can be obtained pure and unadulterated, cannot fail in time to purify the intellect, expand the powers, and improve the condition of the human race.

As in speaking of the natural world, there are some persons who are disposed to attribute its creation to chance, so in speaking of the moral world, there are some who are inclined to refer the events and fluctuations in human affairs to accident, and are satisfied with accounting for them from the common course of things, or the spirit of the times. But as *chance* and *accident*, if they have any meaning whatever, can only mean the operation of causes not hitherto fully investigated, or distinctly understood, so *the spirit of the times* is only another phrase for causes and circum-

stances which have not hitherto been sufficiently explained. It is the province of the historian to trace and to discover these causes, and it is only in proportion as he accomplishes this object, that his labours are of any utility. An assent to the former opinion may indeed gratify our indolence, but it is only from the latter method that we can expect to acquire true knowledge, or to be able to apply to future conduct the information derived from past events.

There is one peculiarity in the following work, which it is probable may be considered as a radical defect. I allude to the frequent introduction of quotations and passages from the poets of the times, occasionally interspersed through the narrative, or inserted in the notes. To some it may appear that the seriousness of history is thus impertinently broken in upon, whilst others may suppose, that not only its gravity, but its authenticity is impeached by these citations, and may be inclined to consider this work as one of those productions, in which truth and fiction are blended together, for the purpose of amusing and misleading the reader. To such imputations I plead not guilty. That I have at times introduced quotations from the works of the poets, for the elucidation of historical facts, -I

confess; nor, when they proceed from contemporary authority, do I perceive that their being in verse invalidates their credit. In this light I have frequently cited the *Decennale* of Machiavelli, and the *Vergier d' honneur* of André de la Vigne, which are in fact little more than versified annals of the events of the times; but, in general, I have not adduced such extracts as evidences of facts, but for a purpose wholly different. To those who are pleased in tracing the emotions and passions of the human mind in all ages, nothing can be more gratifying than to be informed of the mode of thinking of the public at large, at interesting periods, and in important situations. Whilst war and desolation stalk over a country, or whilst a nation is struggling for its liberties or its existence, the opinions of men of genius, ability, and learning, who have been agitated with all the hopes and fears to which such events have given rise, and have frequently acted a personal and important part in them, are the best and most instructive comment. By such means, we seem to become contemporaries with those whose history we peruse, and to acquire an intimate knowledge, not only of the facts themselves, but of the judgment formed upon such facts by those who were most deeply interested in them. Nor is

it a slight advantage in a work which professes to treat on the literature of the times, that the public events, and the works of the eminent scholars and writers of that period, thus become a mutual comment, and serve on many occasions to explain and to illustrate each other.

The practice which I have heretofore adopted of designating the scholars of Italy by their national appellations, has given rise to some animadversions. In answer to which I beg to remark, that whoever is conversant with history, must frequently have observed the difficulties which arise from the wanton alterations, in the names of both persons and places, by authors of different countries, and particularly by the French, who, without hesitation, accommodate every thing to the genius of their own language. Hence, the names of all the eminent men of Greece, of Rome, or of Italy, are melted down, and appear again in such a form as would not in all probability have been recognised by their proper owners; Dionysius is *Denys*, Titus Livius *Tite Live*, Horatius *Horace*, Petrarca *Petrarque*, and Pico of Mirandola *Pic de Mirandole*. As the literature which this country derived from Italy was first obtained through the medium of the French, our early authors followed

them in this respect, and thereby sanctioned those innovations which the nature of our own language did not require. It is still more to be regretted that we are not even uniform in our abuse. In the instance of such names as are familiar to our early literature, we adopt with the French the abbreviated appellation; but in latter times we usually employ proper national distinctions, and instead of *Arioste*, or *Metastase*, we write, without hesitation, *Ariosto*, or *Metastasio*. This inconsistency is more sensibly felt when the abbreviated appellation of one scholar is contrasted with the national distinction of another, as when a letter is addressed by *Petrarch* to *Coluccio Salutati*, or by *Politian* to *Ermolao Barbaro*, or *Baccio Ugolini*. For the sake of uniformity, it is surely desirable that every writer should conform as much as possible to some general rule, which can only be found by a reference of every proper name to the standard of its proper country. This method would not only avoid the incongruities before mentioned, but would be productive of positive advantages, as it would in general point out the nation of the person spoken of, without the necessity of further indication. Thus, in mentioning one of the monarchs of France, who makes a conspicuous

figure in the ensuing pages, I have not denominated him *Lodovico XII.* with the Italians, nor *Lewis XII.* with the English, but *Louis XII.* the name which he himself recognised. And thus I have also restored to a celebrated Scottish general, in the service of the same monarch, his proper title of *d' Aubigny*, instead of that of *Obigni*, usually given him by the historians of Italy.

I cannot deliver this work to the public without a most painful conviction, that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, and the most sedulous attention which it has been in my power to bestow upon it, many defects will still be discoverable, not only from the omission of much important information, which may not have occurred to my inquiries, but from an erroneous or imperfect use of such as I may have had the good fortune to obtain. Yet I trust, that when the extent of the work, and the great variety of subjects which it comprehends are considered, the candid and judicious will make due allowance for those inaccuracies against which no vigilance can at all times effectually guard. With this publication, I finally relinquish all intention of prosecuting, with a view to the public, my researches into the history and literature of Italy. That I have devoted to

its completion a considerable portion of time and of labour will sufficiently appear from the perusal of the following pages, and it may therefore be presumed that I cannot be indifferent to its success. But, whatever inducements I may have found in the hope of conciliating the indulgence, or the favour of the public, I must finally be permitted to avow, that motives of a different, and perhaps of a more laudable nature, have occasionally concurred to induce me to persevere in the present undertaking. Among these, is an earnest desire to exhibit to the present times an illustrious period of society ; to recal the public attention to those standards of excellence to which Europe has been indebted for no inconsiderable portion of her subsequent improvement ; to unfold the ever active effect of moral causes on the acquirements and the happiness of a people ; and thereby to raise a barrier, as far as such efforts can avail, against that torrent of a corrupt and vitiated taste, which, if not continually opposed, may once more overwhelm the cultivated nations of Europe in barbarism and degradation. To these great and desirable aims I could wish to add others, yet more exalted and commendable ; to demonstrate the fatal consequences of an ill directed ambition, and to

deduce, from the unpervverted pages of history, those maxims of true humanity, sound wisdom, and political fidelity, which have been too much neglected in all ages, but which are the only solid foundations of the repose, the dignity, and the happiness of mankind.

ALLERTON,
8th March, 1805.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

AFTER the lapse of several years another edition of **THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO THE TENTH** is now offered to the Public. In the mean time the work has been frequently reprinted in other countries, and translated into the principal languages of Europe. In Germany, where the taste for Italian literature has been cultivated to a greater extent than in any other of the northern states, it was translated by **PROFESSOR GLASER**, accompanied by valuable notes and dissertations by **M. PHILIP HENRY CONRAD HENKE**, and published at Leipzig in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, in three volumes, 8vo. A translation by **M. P. F. HENRY** appeared at Paris in the year 1808, in four volumes, 8vo. of which, another and more correct edition was published in 1813. A few additional notes by the French translator accompanied these last mentioned publications.

In Italy, a translation of the work was undertaken by the **CONTE CAVALIERO LUIGI BOSSI**, of Milan, a person in every respect qualified for the purpose, which made its appearance at various intervals, in the years 1816 and 1817, in twelve volumes, 8vo. ornamented with numerous plates of portraits, medals, &c. Earnestly devoted to the subject, and thoroughly acquainted with the history of his country, (which he has illustrated by a work of his own in nineteen volumes, 8vo.) he has given additional interest to

his translation of LEO X. by numerous notes and additions, and by various dissertations on subjects connected with the work. The situation of Count Bossi at Milan, his acquaintance with books and manuscripts relating to the times in question, and his connexions with persons of high literary eminence in Italy, have also enabled him to make considerable additions to the proofs and documents which I had before adduced in confirmation of my narrative. The dispersion of an edition of 2,800 copies of this translation in Italy, may be considered as a sufficient indication of the public opinion; but, if any thing further were wanted, it might here be added, that his Holiness, Leo XII., has thought proper to prohibit the further circulation of this history of the most illustrious of his predecessors, and has consigned the LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X. to the INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.

The notes and observations by which the before-mentioned translations, and particularly the German and Italian, are accompanied, are the production of persons who have thought for themselves on the various subjects there discussed, and have examined as well the general spirit and tendency of the work, as the particular facts and circumstances which are there related. On this account the present history has undergone an ordeal to which few works of a similar nature have ever been subjected: and as the different annotators have not scrupled to bring forwards their objections on some occasions, with the same freedom as they have stated the reasons for their assent on others, the author has found it incumbent on him, in giving the present edition, (the last he will probably ever revise) to examine their remarks with diligence and impartiality, and either to admit their validity, or to shew the grounds of his adherence to his former opinions. The task he has thus undertaken is not only due to the labours of those who have devoted to the examination of his work so great a portion of their time and attention, but is indeed such as he could not

in justice to himself avoid. Some of the subjects to which the before-mentioned criticisms relate, are, in his estimation, of the first importance to the character and credit of his work, and to have passed over such objections without a reply, would have amounted to no less than a confession of his inability to maintain his statements, or to defend his opinions. He hopes he shall therefore stand excused in referring so frequently to the remarks of the different translators of the present work, which he is happy to do with those feelings which ought always to accompany a debate on literary subjects, and with that satisfaction which must naturally arise, from finding that very few instances have occurred in which he has thought it incumbent on him to make any alteration in his narrative.

In finally submitting the present work to the indulgence of the public, in the form in which it is intended it should remain, it has not been thought necessary to re-publish the preface to the second edition, the only object of which was, to vindicate the statements in the first edition respecting the date of a letter from Luther to Leo X. against the unfounded objections of the Edinburgh Review. As that vindication has not been controverted, and as the evidence, as well external as internal, for the date assigned to the letter will be found condensed in that part of the present work where the contents of it are noticed, it is presumed that the preface to the second edition may now be dispensed with.

January 1, 1827.

CHAP. I.

1475—1493.

BIRTH of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.—Sovereigns of Christendom—Political state of Europe—Peculiarities of the Papal Government—Temporal power of the popes—Union of the spiritual and temporal authority—Advantages of the papal Government—Destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the Church—His early preferments—His father endeavours to raise him to the rank of a Cardinal—Marriage of Francesco Cibò and Maddalena de' Medici—Giovanni raised to the dignity of the purple—Education of Giovanni de' Medici—Bernardo Dovizio da Bibbiena—Defects in the character of Giovanni accounted for—Studies in the Academy at Pisa—His father endeavours to shorten the term of his probation—Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII.—Giovanni invested with the insignia of his rank—Quits Florence to reside at Rome—Eminent Cardinals then in the college—Zizim, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, delivered into the custody of the pope—Rumours of approaching calamities.

THE LIFE

OF

LEO THE TENTH.

CHAPTER I.

GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, afterwards supreme pontiff by the name of **LEO THE TENTH**, was the second son of **Lorenzo de' Medici**, called the Magnificent, by his wife **Clarice**, the daughter of **Giacopo Orsino**. He was born at Florence, on the eleventh day of December, 1475; and most probably received his baptismal name after his paternal great uncle, **Giovanni**, the second son of **Cosmo de' Medici**, who died in the year 1461; or from **Giovanni Tornabuoni**, the brother of **Lucretia**, mother of **Lorenzo de' Medici**, who was then living.

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1475.

Birth of
Giovanni
de' Medici,
afterwards
Leo X.

At the time of the birth of **Giovanni**, the age of portents was not yet past; and it has been recorded with all the gravity of history, that prior to that event, his mother dreamt that she was delivered of an enormous, but docile lion; which was supposed to be a certain prognostic, not only of the future eminence of her son, but also of the name which he was to assume on arriving at the

CHAP. I.
 A.D. 1475. papal dignity.(a) Whether the dream gave rise to the appellation, or the appellation to the dream, may admit of doubt; but although nothing appears in his infancy to justify his being compared to a lion, in his early docility he seems at least to have realized the supposed prognostics of his mother.

The year in which Giovanni was born is distinguished in the annals of Italy as a year of peace and tranquillity, whilst almost all the rest of Europe was involved in the calamities of internal commotions, or of foreign war. It was also solemnized as the year of Jubilee, which was thenceforwards celebrated once in twenty-five years.

Sovereigns of Europe at that time. At this period the pontifical chair was filled by Sixtus IV. who had not yet evinced that turbulent disposition which was afterwards so troublesome not only to the family of the Medici and the city of Florence, but to all the states of Italy. The kingdom of Naples was governed by Ferdinand, the illegitimate son of Alphonso king of Naples, Aragon, and Sicily; who had bequeathed the first of these kingdoms to his son, but was succeeded in the two latter by his brother John II. the father of another Ferdinand, who now enjoyed them, and by his marriage with Isabella, the sister of Henry IV. of Castile, united the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under one dominion. The states of Milan were yet held by Galeazzo Maria, the son of the great Francesco Sforza. Frederick

(a) *Jovii, vita Leonis X.* lib. i. *Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone X.* in *Opusc.* iii. 62. The same story is related by Plutarch, of Agaristis, the mother of Pericles: *Αὕτη κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸς ἰδοξε τεκεῖν λέοντα, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔτεκε Περικλῆα.*

III. had long worn the imperial crown. Louis CHAP.
 XI. was king of France; Edward IV. of England; I.
 and the celebrated Mattia Corvino had lately been A. D. 1475.
 elected by the free voice of his countrymen, to the
 supreme dominion of Hungary.

The political system of Europe was as yet un-
 formed. The despotic sovereign, governing a half-
 civilized people, had in general only two principal
 ends in view; the supporting of his authority at
 home by the depression of his powerful nobles,
 and the extending of his dominion abroad by the
 subjugation of his weaker neighbours. Devoted
 to these objects, which frequently required all
 their talents and all their resources, the potentates
 of Europe had beheld with the utmost indifference
 the destruction of the eastern empire, and the
 abridgment of the Christian territory, by a race of
 barbarians, who were most probably prevented
 only by their own dissensions, from establishing
 themselves in Italy, and desolating the kingdoms
 of the west. It was in vain that Pius II. had
 called upon the European sovereigns to unite in
 the common cause. The ardour of the crusades
 was past. A jealousy of each other, or of their
 own subjects, was an insuperable obstacle to his
 entreaties; and the good pontiff was at length con-
 vinced, that his eloquence would be better employ-
 ed in prevailing on the Turkish Emperor to relin-
 quish his creed and embrace Christianity, than in sti-
 mulating the princes of Europe to resist his arms.(a)

(a) Pii II. *Ænei Sylvii Epist. ad Illustrissimum Mahumetum
 Turcorum principem, inter ejus Ep. imp. per Antonium Zarothum.
 Mediolan. 1487.* From its internal evidence this letter is supposed
 to have been written in 1460, or 1461.

CHAP.

I.

A. D. 1475.

Nature of
the papal
govern-
ment.

The establishment and long uninterrupted continuance of the papal government, may justly be considered as amongst the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind. To the sincere catholic this indeed is the great evidence of the truth of the religion which he professes, the perpetual miracle which proves a constant extension of the divine favour to that church, *against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*; but they who conceive that this phenomenon, like other events of the moral world, is to be accounted for from secondary causes, and from the usual course of nature, will perhaps be inclined to attribute it to the ductility and habitual subservience of the human mind, which, when awed by superstition, and subdued by hereditary prejudices, can not only assent to the most incredible propositions, but act in consequence of these convictions with as much energy and perseverance, as if they were the clearest deductions of reason, or the most evident dictates of truth. Whilst the other sovereigns of Europe held their dominions by lineal succession, by choice of election, or by what politicians have denominated the right of conquest, the Roman pontiff claimed his power as the immediate vicegerent of God; and experience has shewn, that for a long course of ages, his title was considered as the most secure of any in Europe. Nor has the papal government, in later times, received any great trouble from the turbulence of its subjects, who instead of feeling themselves degraded, were perhaps gratified in considering themselves as the peculiar people of a sovereign, whose power was not bounded by the limits of his own

dominions, but was as extensive as Christianity itself. . . .

CHAP.
I.

Without entering upon a minute inquiry into the origin of the temporal authority of the Roman pontiffs, it may be sufficient to observe, that even after they had emerged from their pristine state of poverty and humility, they remained for many ages in an acknowledged subordination to the Roman emperors, and to their delegates, the exarchates of Ravenna; to whom, when the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the government of Italy was intrusted. As the power of the emperors declined, that of the popes increased; and in the contests of the middle ages, during which the Huns, the Vandals, the imperialists, and the Franks, were successively masters of Italy, a common veneration among these ferocious conquerors for the father of the faithful, and the head of the Christian Church, not only secured his safety, but enlarged his authority.^(a) From

A. D. 1475.

Origin of
the tempo-
ral power of
the popes.

(a) The coining of money by the Roman pontiffs may be considered as a mark of sovereign and independent authority; but at what precise period they began to exercise this right, is not easily ascertained. Muratori, in his *Annali d' Italia*, vol. iv. p. 464, informs us, that the popes coined money, in gold, silver, and copper, from the time of Charlemagne (about the year 800) and that the city of Rome had enjoyed that privilege *ab antiquo*. Other writers have assigned an earlier date, which opinion they have founded on a coin of Zacharia, who filled the pontifical chair from the year 740 to 751—*v. Dissertaz. del Conte Giacomo Acami dell' origine ed antichità della Zecca Pontificia*, p. 8, Ed. Rom. 1752. This subject has given rise to serious controversy, even among the firmest adherents to the church. Muratori and Fontanini have embraced different opinions, which they have endeavoured to support in several learned publications, in which the ancient rights of the emperors and the popes to various parts of Italy are par-

CHAP. I. the time of the emperor Constantine, various grants, endowments, and donations of extensive territories, were conferred by different princes on the bishops of Rome; insomuch, that there is scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not at some period asserted a claim. That many of these grants are supposititious is generally acknowledged; (a) whilst the validity of others, which are admitted to have existed, frequently rests merely on the temporary right of some intruder, whose only title was his sword, and who, in many instances, gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour however of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy, and among the rest, of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatic coast, to which they gave the name of Romania, or Romagna. (b) The subsequent dissensions between

particularly discussed. All collectors however agree in commencing their series from Adrian I. created pope in 782, from which time Acami has given a succession of thirty-four coins of different pontiffs, some of which are however supposed to have issued from the metropolitan sees of England, for the purpose of paying tribute to Rome.

(a) The donation of Constantine is humourously, but boldly placed by Ariosto, among the trumpery which, being lost on earth, was found by Astolfo stored up in the moon; the prayers of the wicked, the sighs of lovers, the crowns of forgotten sovereigns, and the verses written in praise of great men.

“ Di varj fiori ad un gran monte passa,
Ch’ ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte;
Questo era il dono, se però dir lece,
Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.”

Orl. Fur. cant. 34. st. 80.

(b) The validity of these donations, and particularly those of

the popes and the emperors, the frequent schisms which occurred in the church, the unwarlike nature of the papal government, and above all, the impolitic transfer of the residence of the supreme pontiffs from Rome to Avignon, in the fourteenth century, combined to weaken the authority which the popes had in the course of so many ages acquired; and in particular the cities of Romagna, throwing off their dependence on the papal see, either formed for themselves peculiar and independent governments, or became subject to some successful adventurer, who acquired his superiority by force of arms. No longer able to maintain an actual authority, the Roman pontiffs endeavoured to reserve at least a paramount or confirmatory right; and as the sanction of the pope was not a matter of indifference to these subordinate sovereigns, he delegated to them his power on easy conditions, by investing them with the title of vicars of the church.^(a) It was thus the family of Este obtained the dominion of Fer-

Pepin king of France, and of his son Charlemagne, is strongly insisted on by Ammirato, who attempts to shew, that the authority of the popes extended far beyond the limits of Italy; but as he appears not to have distinguished between their temporal and their ecclesiastical power, little reliance is to be placed on his opinion. *Ammir. Discorso come la Chiesa Romana sia cresciuta ne' beni temporali. Opusc. vol. ii. p. 67.* Those readers who are inclined to examine more particularly into this subject, may consult the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum*, tom. i. p. 124.

(a) *Guicciardini Historia d' Italia. lib. iv.* The passage here referred to, in which the historian has traced with great ability the rise and vicissitudes of the temporal authority of the popes, is omitted in the general editions of his works, and even in that of Torrentino, *Flor. 1561, fo.* but may be found in those of Stoer, 1636, 1645. *Geneva.*

CHAP. ^{1.} rara, which they had extended, in fact, to an independent principality. Thus the cities of Rimini and Cesena were held by the family of Malatesta; Faenza and Imola by the Manfredi; and many other cities of Italy became subject to petty sovereigns, who governed with despotic authority, and by their dissensions frequently rendered that fertile, but unhappy country, the theatre of contest, of rapine, and of blood.

From this period the temporal authority of the popes was chiefly confined to the district entitled the patrimony of St. Peter, with some detached parts of Umbria, and the *Marca d' Ancona*.^(a) The claims of the church were not however suffered to remain dormant, whenever an opportunity of enforcing them occurred, and the recovery of its ancient possessions had long been considered as a duty indispensably incumbent on the supreme pontiff. But although for this purpose he scrupled not to avail himself of the arms, the alliances, and the treasures of the church, yet, when the enterprise proved successful, it generally happened, that the conquered territory only exchanged its former lord for some near kinsman of the reigning pontiff, who during the life of his benefactor, endeavoured to secure and extend his authority by all the means in his power.

The Roman pontiffs have always possessed an

^(a) Count Bossi, in a note on this passage, (*Ital. Tr.* vol. i. p. 37,) conceives, that the dominions of the pope are too much restricted by it; and observes that it ought also to have included the three Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, over which it formerly exercised a sovereign authority, and which were again restored to it in the last political system of Italy.*

advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person; two engines, which long experience had taught them to use with a dexterity equal to that, with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops, so as effectually to carry on an offensive war; but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all Christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church.^(a) That these characters were successively assumed with great address and advantage, will sufficiently appear from the following pages; and although some difficulties might occasionally arise in the exercise of them, yet, notwithstanding the complaint of one of the ablest apologists of the Roman pontiffs,^(b) the world has upon the whole,

CHAP.

I.

A. D. 1475.

Union of
the spiritu-
al and tem-
poral autho-
rity.

(a) Bayle in his Dictionary, *Art. Leon X.* note p, has some observations, rather more fanciful than solid, on this union of spiritual and temporal authority in the same person; which he concludes, by relating the story of a German bishop, who was also a count and baron of the empire, and who having attempted to justify to a peasant the extraordinary pomp which he assumed, by adverting to his temporal dignity, "Yes," replied the rustic, "*but when my lord the count and baron is sent to hell, where will then be my lord the bishop?*"

(b) "Oltre à ciò è sì difficile l'empier con gli altri principi insieme le parti di Padre nello spirituale, e di competitore spesso nel temporale, che talora son ripresi dalla fama come troppo interessati, o poco caritativi i pontefici, perche hanno o difesi o ricu-

CHAP. I. it arose, it appears to have been, in the fifteenth century, completely removed; almost every sovereign in Italy, and perhaps in Europe, striving with the utmost ardour to procure for their nearest relations a seat in the sacred college, as a necessary step to the pontifical chair. What the European princes endeavoured to accomplish in the persons of their own kindred, the popular governments attempted in those of their most illustrious citizens; and the favour bestowed by Paul II. upon his countrymen the Venetians, may reasonably be supposed to have operated upon the sagacious and provident mind of Lorenzo de' Medici, to induce him to attempt the establishment of the chief ecclesiastical dignity in one of his own family. Nor is it improbable, that whilst he was actuated by this motive, he was impelled by another of no less efficacy. By the resentment of the papal see he had lost a much loved brother; and although he had himself escaped with his life from the dagger of the assassin, yet he had experienced, from the same cause, a series of calamities, from which he was only extricated by one of the most daring expedients recorded in history. To prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of a circumstance which had nearly destroyed the authority of his family, and to establish his children in such situations as might render them a mutual support and security to each other, in the high departments for which they were intended, were doubtless some of the motives which occasioned the destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the church, and produced those important effects upon the religion, the politics, and the taste of Europe,

which are so conspicuous in the pontificate of **CHAP.**
Leo X. **I.**

That it was the intention of Lorenzo, from the birth of his son, to raise him eventually to the high dignity which he afterwards acquired, cannot be doubted; and the authority which he possessed in the affairs of Italy, enabled him to engage in this undertaking with the fairest prospects of success. Soon after he had attained the seventh year of his age, Giovanni de' Medici had received the tonsura, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. At this early period his father had applied to Louis XI. to confer upon him some church living. In the reply of the French king, which bears date the seventeenth day of February, 1482, he thus expresses himself:—"I understand from your letter of the thirtieth of January, the intentions you have formed respecting your son, which, if I had known them before the death of the cardinal of Rohan, I should have endeavoured to accomplish; but I have no objection on the next vacancy of a benefice, to do for him whatever lies in my power." (a) Accordingly, Giovanni was, in the following year, appointed by the king, abbot of Fontedolce; and this was speedily followed by the investiture of the rich monastery of Passignano, bestowed upon him by Sixtus IV. who, towards the close of his days, seemed desirous of obliterating from the minds of the Medici the remembrance of his former hostility. The particulars of this singular instance of ecclesiastical promotion, and of the additional

He receives the tonsura, and is appointed Abbot of Fontedolce.

1482.

And of Passignano.

(a) *Fabronii, vita Laur. Med. in adnot. 298. et v. App. No. 1.*

CHAP. honours bestowed upon Giovanni de' Medici, are
 I. given by Lorenzo himself, in his *Ricordi*, with
 A. D. 1483. great simplicity. "On the nineteenth day of May, 1483," says he, "we received intelligence, that the king of France had, of his own motion, presented to my son Giovanni, the abbey of Fontedolce. On the thirty-first, we heard from Rome, that the pope had confirmed the grant, and had rendered him capable of holding a benefice, he being now *seven* years of age. On the first day of June, Giovanni accompanied me from Poggio(a) to Florence, where he was confirmed by the bishop of Arezzo,(b) and received the tonsura; and from thenceforth was called *Messire Giovanni*. The before-mentioned circumstances took place in the chapel of our family. The next morning he returned to Poggio. On the eighth day of June, Jacopino, a courier, arrived with advices from the king of France, that he had conferred upon Messire Giovanni the archbishoprick of Aix, in Provence; on which account a messenger was despatched, on the same evening, to Rome, with letters from the king to the pope and the cardinal di Macone. At the same time despatches were sent to count Girolamo, which were forwarded by Zenino the courier, to Forli. On the eleventh, Zenino returned from the count, with letters to the pope and the cardinal *S. Giorgio*, which were sent to Rome by the Milanese post. On the same day, after mass, all the children of the family received confirmation, excepting Mes-

(a) *Poggio a Cajano*, a seat of Lorenzo de' Medici.

(b) Gentile d' Urbino. *v. Life of Lor. de' Med.* vol. i. p. 72. 4to.

sire Giovanni. On the fifteenth, at the sixth hour of the night, an answer was received from Rome, that the pope had some difficulty in giving the archbishoprick to Messire Giovanni, on account of his youth. This answer was immediately despatched to the king of France. On the twentieth, we received news from Lionetto, *that the archbishop was not dead!* On the first day of March, 1484, the abbot of Passignano died, and a message was despatched to Giovanni Vespucci, the Florentine ambassador at Rome, that he should endeavour to prevail on the pope to give the abbey to Messire Giovanni. On the second, he took possession of it under the authority of the state, by virtue of the reservation granted to him by Sixtus IV. and which was afterwards confirmed by Innocent VIII. when my son Piero went to pay him obedience at Rome, on his elevation to the pontificate.”(a) It would not be difficult to declaim against the corruptions of the Roman see, and the absurdity of conferring ecclesiastical preferments upon a child; but in the estimation of an impartial observer, it is a matter of little moment whether such preferment be bestowed upon an infant who is unable, or an adult who is unwilling, to perform the duties of his office, and who, in fact, at the time of his appointment, neither intends, nor is expected, ever to bestow upon them any share of his attention.(b)

CHAP.

I.

A.D. 1483.

1484.

(a) The original is given in the life of Lor. de' Medici, *Appendix*, vol. ii. No. LXII.

(b) On this passage the German reader may peruse the long and interesting note of Mr. Henke, in the German translation of this work, vol. i. p. 19. (*Leips.* 1806, 8vo.) *

CHAP.

I.

A. D. 1484.

His father
attempts to
raise him to
the rank of
cardinal.

The death of Sixtus IV., which happened on the thirteenth day of August, 1484, and the elevation to the pontificate of Giambattista Cibò, by the name of Innocent VIII. opened to Lorenzo the prospect of speedy and more important advancement for his son. Of the numerous livings conferred on this young ecclesiastic, a particular account has been preserved; (a) but the views of Lorenzo were directed towards still higher preferment. In the month of November he despatched his eldest son Piero to Rome, accompanied by his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni, with directions to promote as much as possible the interests of his brother Giovanni. In the instructions of Lorenzo to his envoys at Rome, the same object was strongly insisted on; and such arguments were constantly suggested, as were most likely to induce the pope to nominate Giovanni de' Medici, on the first opportunity, a member of the sacred college.

In the mean time, Lorenzo thought it advisable

(a) It appears that Giovanni was at the same time a canon of the cathedral of Florence, of Fiesole, and of Arezzo; rector of Carmignano, of Giogoli, of S. Casciano, of S. Giovanni in Valdarno, of S. Piero at Casale, and of S. Marcellino at Cacchiano; prior of Monte Varchi; precentor of S. Antonio in Florence; proposto of Prato; abbot of Monte Cassino, of S. Giovanni of Passignano, of S. Maria of Morimondo, of S. Martino, of Fontedolce in France, of S. Lorenzo of Coltibuono, of S. Salvatore at Vajano, of S. Bartolommeo at Anghiari, of S. Maria at Monte Piano, of S. Giuliano at Tours, of S. Giusto and S. Clement at Volterra, of S. Stefano of Bologna, of S. Michele in Arezzo, of Chiaravalle at Milan, of the diocese of Pino in Pittavia, and of the Casa Dei at Chiaramonte; and in 1510 he became archbishop of Amalfi.—“ Bone Deus,” exclaims the good Fabroni, “ quot in uno juvene cumulata sacerdotia!” *Fabr. vita Leon. X. in adnot. p. 245.*

CHAP.

I.

A. D. 1484.

Marriage
of Frances-
co Cibò and
Maddalena
de' Medici.
1487.

to strengthen the friendly connexion which already subsisted between himself and the pope, by an union between their families. Before his adopting an ecclesiastical life, Innocent had several children, (a) the eldest of whom, Francesco Cibò, was married in the year 1487, to Maddalena, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, and who lived to share the honours enjoyed by her family in the elevation of her brother. Besides the inducements to this measure, which the pope probably found in the increasing influence and authority of Lorenzo de' Medici, the near relationship which subsisted between Maddalena and the family of the Orsini, was a powerful motive with him to conclude the match. The event was such as the pope expected. The hostility between him and the Orsini speedily subsided; and he found, on many subsequent occasions, the high importance of their attachment and their services. (b)

As the advancement of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of the purple, was the fortunate event which led the way to his future elevation, and to the important consequences of that elevation to the Christian world, it may not be uninteresting to trace the steps by which he acquired, so early

(a) Sanazzaro adverts to this circumstance in the following ironical lines :

“Innoçuo priscos æquum est debere quirites :
Progenie exhaustam restituit patriam.”

Epigram. lib. i. Ep. 37. Ed. Comino, 1731.

and Mr. Henke has cited several epigrams of Marullus to the same effect. v. *Germ. Tr.* vol. i. p. 21.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia. ix. 556.*

CHAP. in life, that high rank. This we are enabled to do
 I. with great accuracy, from the letters of Lorenzo,
 A.D. 1487. and his confidential correspondents, the originals
 of which are preserved in the archives of Florence, and which exhibit such a degree of policy and assiduity on the part of that great man, as could scarcely fail of success.

1488. From these it appears, that early in the year
 Giovanni de' Medici 1488, the pope, who had not before received any
 appointed cardinal. additional members into the college, had formed the intention of making a promotion of cardinals, and had communicated his purpose to Lorenzo, to whom he had also transmitted a list of names, for his remarks and approbation. Such however was the inactivity of the pontiff, that he delayed from time to time the execution of his plan. From the age and infirmities of the pope, Lorenzo was fearful that this measure might be wholly frustrated; and as he had already formed the design of procuring the name of his son to be included among those of the new cardinals, he directed his envoy at Rome, Giovanni Lanfredini, to lose no time in prevailing upon the pope to carry his intentions into effect. "I observe," says he, in a letter which bears date the sixteenth day of June, 1488,(a) "what you mention respecting the promotion of cardinals, to which I shall briefly reply, that this event ought not to be delayed longer than can possibly be avoided; for when his holiness has completed it, he will be another pope than he has hitherto been—because he is yet a head without limbs, surrounded by the creatures of others;

(a) *MSS. Florent. v. App. No. II.*

whereas he will then be surrounded by his own. CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1488
A. Æt. 13.
 You will therefore importune and exhort him to adopt this determination as soon as possible, because there is danger in delay. * * As to the persons nominated, I approve all those whose names are marked with a point; they are the same as you before mentioned to me. It seems better to lay before him many, that he may have an opportunity of selection. He may also gratify me if he thinks proper."

A few months afterwards, when a promotion of cardinals was positively determined on, Lorenzo became more strenuous in his exertions, and omitted no solicitations or persuasions which might obtain the favour, not only of the pontiff himself, but of the cardinals, whose concurrence was, it appears, indispensable.(a) In a letter to the pope, which bears date the first day of October, 1488, he most earnestly entreats, that if he is ever to receive any benefit from his holiness, it may be granted to him on that occasion, and requests his favour with no less fervency than he would from God the salvation of his soul.(b) With equal eagerness, and to this, or a similar effect, he addressed himself to all the members of the sacred

(a) In the articles or concessions signed by Innocent on his election, he had solemnly promised not to raise any person to the dignity of a cardinal, who had not attained thirty years of age, that such promotion should never be made in secret, that he would not create more than one from his own family, that the number should not in the whole exceed twenty-four, and that he would not name any new ones till the college should be reduced to that number. *Burcard. Diarium. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. i. 75.*

(b) *Fabr. in vita Leon. X. adnot. 245. et v. App. No. III.*

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I.

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A. Æt. 13.

college, whose interest he thought essential to his success.^(a) Where he could not obtain an absolute promise of support, he considered it as of great importance to have prevented opposition. "You appear to me," says he to Lanfredini,^(b) "to have done no little in removing the objections of * * *. If you cannot induce him to proceed further, I wish you to thank him for this; and assure him, that knowing his inclination, I shall owe to him the same obligation for it, as I shall to others for their positive favours. At the same time, if it were possible, I should be highly gratified by his assistance." On this important occasion Lorenzo availed himself greatly of the services of the cardinal Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, and of Roderigo Borgia, then vice-chancellor of the holy see. "I reply," says he, addressing himself to Lanfredini,^(c) "in a letter under my own hand to the vice-chancellor and Monsig. Ascanio. The letter which they have written to me, and the trouble which, as you inform me, Monsig. Ascanio takes every day in my behalf, merit other returns than words. I well know, both from your information and my own reflections, where my honour and my hopes would have remained, had they not been brought to life by him, and by those whom his relationship, friendship, and connexions, have obtained for me. The difficulty of this business, and his constant diligence and attention, render

(a) Of these, his letter to Battista Zen, Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico, and nephew of Paul II. may serve as a sufficient specimen. *MSS. Florent. App. No. IV.*

(b) *MSS. Florent. App. No. V.*

(c) *MSS. Florent. App. No. VI.*

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I.

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A. Æt. 13.

the benefits he has conferred on us so important, that they oblige not only me and M. Giovanni, but all those who belong to us; for I consider this favour in no other light than if I were raised from death to life." He expresses himself respecting the vice-chancellor with equal gratitude, desiring Lanfredini to assure him of the sense he entertains of his favours, which he cannot do himself, "because in effect he feels the obligation too strongly, and is more desirous of repaying it, when in his power, than he can possibly express."

At this critical juncture, when every hour was pregnant with expectation, the hopes of Lorenzo were cruelly, though unintentionally, disappointed by Lanfredini, who, having a confidence of success, wished to be informed by Lorenzo in what manner he should announce the great event. To this end he inclosed to Lorenzo the form of a public letter, which it might be proper to send, on such an occasion, for the inspection of the citizens at large. Lorenzo replies, (a) "you will have time enough to send for the form in which it may be proper to announce the news. The method you took had however nearly given rise to a great error; for, as I read your inclosure before your letter, and there did not appear either the word *copy*, or any other indication to that effect, I thought the information true, and was very near making it public. It seems to me of little consequence in what manner you communicate it. The business is here so publicly spoken of, that it cannot be more so. You can therefore send no in-

(a) *MSS. Florent. App. No. VII.*

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telligence that is not expected by every one except myself; for I know not how it is, but I have never been able to confide in the event."

This however seems to have been the last agony which Lorenzo had to sustain in this long conflict; for, on the ninth day of the same month, he received the consolatory intelligence, that his son was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal, under the title of S. Maria in Domenica.(a) His feelings on this occasion are best expressed in his own words, addressed to his envoy at Rome.(b) "Thanks be to God for the good news which I received yesterday at the ninth hour, respecting Messire Giovanni, and which appeared to me so much the greater, as it was the less expected, it seeming so far above my merits, and so difficult in itself, as to be esteemed impossible. I have reason to hold in remembrance all those who have assisted me in this business, and shall leave a charge that they be not forgotten by those who may succeed me; this being the greatest honour that ever our house experienced." * * * "I know not whether his holiness may be displeased with the demonstrations of joy and festivity which have taken place in Florence on this occasion; but I never saw a more general, or a more sincere exultation. Many other expressions of it would have occurred, but I did all in my power to prevent them, although I could not

(a) This event was communicated to him in a letter from the cardinal of Anjou, yet preserved in the Florentine Archives. *App.* No. VIII. It is also adverted to in the Latin verses of Philomusus, who has there, in a spirit of poetic prophecy, foretold the future honours of his patron, which he also lived himself to celebrate. *App.* No. IX.

(b) *Vide App.* No. X.

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A. Æt. 13.

wholly succeed. I mention this, because the elevation of M. Giovanni was intended to have remained for the present a secret ; but you have made it so public in Rome, that we can scarcely incur blame in following your example ; nor have I been able to decline the congratulations of the city, even to the lowest ranks. If what I have done be improper, I can only say, that it was impossible for me to prevent it, and that I greatly wish for instructions how to conduct myself in future, as to what kind of life and manners M. Giovanni ought to observe ; and what his dress and his attendants ought to be ; for I should be extremely sorry to begin to repay this immense debt, by doing any thing contrary to the intentions of his holiness. In the mean time, M. Giovanni remains with me in the house, which from yesterday has been continually full of people. Advise me therefore what is to be done with him. Inform me also, when you next write, what signature or seal he ought to use. In expediting the bull, you will, I am sure, use all due diligence, and will transmit it as soon as possible, for the satisfaction of our friends. I send you herewith the measure of his height, but in my eyes he appears to have grown and changed since yesterday. I trust in God you will receive due honour for your exertions, and that his holiness will be pleased with what he has done. I wish for your opinion whether I should send my son Piero, as I intended ; because it seems to me that a favour of this magnitude calls for no less, than that I should pay a visit to Rome myself." (a)

(a) The public thanks of the government of Florence were also transmitted to the pope, for the honour conferred on that city by

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A. Æt. 13.

Politiano, to whom the early education of Giovanni de' Medici had been entrusted, thought it also incumbent on himself, upon this occasion, to address to the pope a letter, in which he has exhibited the character and early acquirements of his pupil in a very favourable light.(a) Some allowance must however be made for the partiality of the tutor, and perhaps for the blandishments of the courtier; nor are we implicitly to believe, either that Louis XI. was the most pious of kings, or that Giovanni de' Medici, although from various circumstances his proficiency was beyond his years, had realized in himself

“ That faultless monster which the world ne'er saw.”

1489.

Education
of Giovanni
de' Medici.

It must however be acknowledged, that if Lorenzo de' Medici was indefatigable in obtaining for his son the honours and emoluments of ecclesiastical preferment, he displayed an equal degree of assiduity in rendering him worthy of them. The early docility and seriousness of Giovanni, the proficiency which he had made in his studies, and the distinctions with which he had been honoured, entitled him to rank as an associate in those meetings of men of genius and learning, which continually took place in the palace of the adoption of the cardinal de' Medici into the sacred college. The letter on this occasion was written by Bartolommeo Scala, then chancellor of the republic, and is given in the *Collectio veterum aliquot monumentorum*, of Bandini.—Arezzo, 1752.

(a) Polit. Ep. lib. viii. Ep. 5. In the preceding year Politiano had inscribed to the pope his elegant translation of Herodian, in return for which Innocent had not only written to him, but had presented him with 200 pieces of gold. Polit. Ep. lib. viii. ep. 1, 2, 3, 4. Politiano had also addressed to the pope, soon after his elevation, a fine Sapphic ode. Polit. Op. Ald. 1498.

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I.

A.D. 1489.

A. Æt. 14.

Medici. Among the professors of the Platonic philosophy, the chief place was held by Marsilio Ficino; the authority of Aristotle was supported by his countryman and warm admirer, Joannes Argyropylus; in classical and polite literature, Politiano had revived the age of Augustus; (a) whilst Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, united in himself the various kinds of knowledge which were allotted to others only in distinct portions. Conversant as Giovanni de' Medici was, with these men, and residing under the eye of his father, to whom every production of literature and of art was submitted, as to an infallible judge, it was impossible that the seeds of knowledge and of taste, if indeed they existed, should not be early developed in his mind. Hence it is probable that the business of education was to him, as indeed it ought to be to every young person, the highest amusement and gratification; and that he never experienced those restraints and severities which create a disgust to learning, instead of promoting it. Amidst the extensive collections of pictures, sculptures, medals, and other specimens of ancient and modern art, acquired by the wealth and long continued attention of his ancestors, he first imbibed that relish for productions of this nature, and that discriminating judgment of their merits,

(a) "Nimirum ad optimum indolem optima accessit institutio, et felicissimi ingenii tui solo, longe bellissimus obtigit cultor; politissimus ille *Politianus*; cujus opera non spinosis istis ac rixosis literis, sed veris illis, nec sine causâ bonis appellatis, ac mansuetioribus, ut vocant, musis es initiatus, &c." *Erasm. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. 1, ad Leon. X.* To the instances of confidence and friendship between Lorenzo de' Medici and Politiano, I shall add a letter from the latter not before published. *App. No. XI.*

CHAP. which rendered him, in his future life, no less the
I. arbiter of the public taste in works of art, than he

A.D. 1489. was of the public creed in matters of religion.

A. Æt. 14.

The youthful mind of Giovanni de' Medici was not, however, wholly left to the chance of promiscuous cultivation. Besides the assistance of Politiano, who had the chief direction of his studies, he is known to have received instructions in the Greek language from Demetrius Chalcondyles and Petrus Ægineta, (*a*) both of whom were Greeks by birth. His education was also promoted by Bernardo Michelozzi, who was one of the private secretaries of his father, and eminently skilled both in ancient and modern literature ; (*b*) but his principal director in his riper studies, was Bernardo Dovizi, better known by the name of Bernardo da Bibbiena. This elegant scholar and indefatigable statesman, was born of a respectable family at Bibbiena, in the year 1470, and was sent, at the age of nine years, to pursue his studies in Florence. His family connexions introduced him into the house of the Medici, and such was the assiduity with which he availed himself of the opportunities of instruction there afforded him, that at the age of seventeen, he had attained a great facility of Latin composition, and was soon afterwards selected by Lorenzo, as one of his private secretaries. When the honours of the church were bestowed on Giovanni de' Medici, the principal care

Bernardo
Dovizi.

(*a*) *Mench. vita Polit. p. 98. Lettres de Langius. ap. Bayle, Dict. Art. Leo X.* Many other persons are mentioned by different authors as having been his instructors, but perhaps without sufficient foundation.

(*b*) *Panvinii, in vita Leon. X.*

of his pecuniary concerns was intrusted to Bernardo; in the execution of which employment he rendered his patron such important services, and conducted himself with so much vigilance and integrity, that some have not hesitated to ascribe to him, in a considerable degree, the future eminence of his pupil. Notwithstanding the serious occupations in which Bernardo was engaged, in his temper and manners he was affable, and even facetious, as appears by the representation given of him by Castiglione, in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, in which he is introduced as one of the interlocutors. Nor did he neglect his literary studies, of which he gave a sufficient proof in his celebrated comedy, *La Calandra*, which, although not, as some have asserted, the earliest comedy which modern times have produced, deservedly obtained great reputation for its author, and merits, even at this day, no small share of approbation. The high rank which Bernardo obtained in the church, and the distinguished part which he acted in the political transactions of the times, will frequently present him to our notice. Of his character and talents, different opinions have been entertained: but his title to eminent merit must be admitted, whilst he claims it under the sanction of Ariosto.(a)

But whilst it may be presumed, that the subsequent honours and success of Giovanni de' Medici are to be attributed in a great degree to his early education, and to the advantages which he possessed under his paternal roof, it must be allowed, that those defects in his ecclesiastical character, which were afterwards so apparent, were probably

Defects in the character of Giovanni de' Medici.

(a) *Orland. Furioso*, Cant. xxvi. st. 48.

CHAP. I.
 A. D. 1489.
 A. Æt. 14.

derived from the same source. The associates of Lorenzo de' Medici were much better acquainted with the writings of the poets, and the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, than with the dogmas of the Christian faith. Of the followers of Plato, Lorenzo was at this time considered as the chief. He had himself arranged and methodized a system of theology which inculcates opinions very different from those of the Romish church, and in a forcible manner points out the object of supreme adoration as one and indivisible.^(a) Hence it is not unlikely, that the young cardinal was induced to regard with less reverence those doctrinal points of the established creed, the belief of which is considered as indispensable to the clerical character; and hence he might have acquired such ideas of the Supreme Being, and of the duties of his intelligent creatures, as in counteracting the spirit of bigotry, rendered him liable to the imputation of indifference in matters of religion. A rigid economy in his household was certainly not one of the first qualifications of Lorenzo, and the example of the father might perhaps counteract his precept in the estimation of the son; whose liberality in future life, too often carried to profusion, reduced him to the necessity of adopting those measures for the supplying his exigences, which gave rise to consequences of the utmost importance to the Christian world. From the splendid exhibitions which were

(a) *V. L' Altercazione, Capitolo.* This, together with other poems of Lorenzo de' Medici, and several of his contemporaries, has been given to the public by Messrs. Nardini and Buonaiuti, in an elegant volume, under the title of *POESIE DEL MAG. LORENZO DE' MEDICI, E DI ALTRI SUOI AMICI E CONTEMPORANEI.* Londra, 1801. 4to.

frequently displayed in the city of Florence, he probably derived that relish for similar entertainments, which he is supposed to have carried, during his pontificate, to an indecorous, if not to a culpable excess ; whilst the freedom and indecency of the songs with which the spectacles of Florence were accompanied, (a) of many of which Lorenzo was himself the author, could scarcely have failed to banish at intervals that gravity of carriage which the young cardinal was directed to support, and to sow those seeds of dissipation, which afterwards met with a more suitable climate in the fervid atmosphere of Rome.

CHAP.

I.

A. D. 1489,
A. Æt. 14.

The nomination of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of cardinal, was accompanied by a condition that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, or be received as a member of the college for the space of three years. This restriction was considered by Lorenzo as very unfavourable to his views. His remonstrances were however ineffectual ; and as the pontiff had expressed his wishes, that during this probationary interval, Giovanni should pursue the studies of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, the young cardinal left Florence, and repaired to Pisa, where, by the exertions of Lorenzo, the academy had lately been re-established with great splendour. At this place he had the advantage of receiving instructions from Filippo Decio and Bartolommeo Sozzini, the most celebrated professors of civil and pontifical law in Italy. (b)

Repairs to
the academy
at Pisa.

(a) The *Canti Carnascialeschi*, and *Canzone a ballo*, of which some account is given in the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. pp. 304, 307, 4to. ed.

(b) *Fabr. vita Leon. X.* p. 10.

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I.

A. D. 1489.

A. Æt. 14.

His father
endeavours
to shorten
his proba-
tion.

Whilst a resident in Florence, he had frequently visited the monastery of Camaldoli, where he formed an intimacy with Pietro Delfino, and Paullo Justiniano; the former of whom he regarded as his model and instructor, the latter as a second parent. (a) The advantages which he received in his youth from this society, were not forgotten in his riper years, when he conferred many favours on the monastery, acknowledging with great satisfaction, that "he had not only spent much of his time, but had almost received his education there." (b)

Whilst Giovanni de' Medici, by a constant intercourse with men of rank, talents, and learning, was thus acquiring a fund of information, and a seriousness of deportment much beyond his years, his father was indefatigable in his endeavours to prevail on the pope to shorten the period of his probation. Piero Alamanni, one of the Florentine envoys at Rome, in a letter which bears date the eighth day of January, 1490, (c) thus addresses Lorenzo. "I made my acknowledgments to his holiness for the favours received from him in the person of M. Giovanni, giving him to understand how agreeable they were to all the citizens of Florence, and how highly they esteemed the obligation. I then ventured, in terms of the utmost respect and civility, to touch upon that part of the business, the accom-

(a) Pietro Delfino was General of the order of Camaldoli; his Letters were collected and published at Venice in 1524, in folio, and display great vivacity and learning. They are very rare, and have been sold at an extravagant price. He died in 1525. *Bossi, in Tr. vol. i. p. 59.* *

(b) " ——— Adolescentiæ suæ tempore, non solum versatus, sed pene educatus fuerit." *Fabr. in vita Leon. X. p. 10.*

(c) *Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. in adnot. p. 301.*

plishment of which is so earnestly desired, the public assumption of M. Giovanni; alleging all the reasons which you suggested to me, but at the same time assuring him that the city of Florence, and you in particular, would be perfectly satisfied with his determination. In reply he spoke at considerable length: in the first place observing, that the mode which he had prescribed was intended to answer the best purposes, as he had before explained by means of Pier Filippo (Pandolfini). He then entered on the commendation of M. Giovanni, and spoke of him as if he had been his own son, observing, that he understood that he had conducted himself with great propriety at Pisa, and had obtained the superiority in some disputation, which seemed to give his holiness great pleasure. At last he expressed himself thus: *Leave the fortunes of M. Giovanni to me, for I consider him as my own son, and shall perhaps make his promotion public when you least expect it; for it is my intention to do much more for his interest than I shall now express.*" In order to promote this business, and to try the temper of the cardinals, Lorenzo despatched to Rome his kinsman Rinaldo Orsini, archbishop of Florence, but he derived no advantage from this measure; and indeed from the letters of the good prelate on this subject, it appears, that he was but ill qualified for the intrigues of a court.^(a) The motives which induced Innocent to persevere in the terms which he had prescribed, are more fully disclosed in a letter from Pandolfini to Lorenzo, dated the nineteenth day of October, 1490; ^(b)

(a) MSS. Florent. App. No. XII.

(b) Fabr. vita Laur. in adnot. p. 302; et v. App. No. XIII.

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from which it appears, that the pope could not admit Giovanni into the college of cardinals without either giving offence to others who had not been received, or receiving the whole, which he did not think proper to do; as he considered the state of suspense in which the college was kept, as favourable to his views and interests.

Giulio de'
Medici prior
of Capua.

During the early years of Giovanni de' Medici, he had a constant companion and fellow student in his cousin Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, who had been assassinated in the horrid conspiracy of the Pazzi. (a) The disposition of Giulio leading him when young to adopt a military life, he had been early enrolled among the knights of Jerusalem; and as this profession united the characters of the soldier and the priest, he was soon afterwards, at the solicitation of Lorenzo de' Medici, endowed by Ferdinand king of Naples, with the rich and noble priory of Capua. (b) Grave in his deportment, steady in his family attachments, and vigilant in business, Giulio devoted himself in a particular manner to the fortunes of Giovanni, and became his chief attendant and adviser throughout all the vicissitudes of his early life. On the elevation of Giovanni to the pontificate, the services of

(a) Ammirato (*Opusc.* iii. 108.) places the birth of Giulio one month, and Macchiavelli, (*Stor. Fior.* lib. viii.) several months, after the death of his father. It appears, however, from yet more authentic documents, that he was born a year before that event, viz. in 1477; and was consequently two years younger than his cousin, Giovanni de' Medici. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 196, 4to. ed. Panvinus, the continuator of Platini, in his life of Clement VII., has followed, in this respect, the erroneous accounts of the Italian historians.

(b) Ammirato, *Opusc.* iii. 102, *MSS. Florent. App. No. XIV.*

Giulio, who was soon afterwards raised to the rank of cardinal, became yet more important; and he is, with great reason, supposed not only to have carried into execution, but to have suggested, many of the political measures adopted by Leo, and to have corrected the levity and prodigality of the pope by his own austerity, prudence, and regularity. It did not however appear, on the subsequent elevation of Giulio to the pontificate, by the name of Clement VII. that he possessed in so eminent a degree those qualities for which the world had given him credit; and, perhaps, the genius and talents of Leo had contributed no less towards establishing the reputation of Giulio, than the industry and vigilance of the latter had concurred in giving credit to the administration of Leo X.

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The long expected day at length arrived, which was to confirm to Giovanni de' Medici his high dignity, and to admit him among the princes of the Christian Church. The ceremonial of the investiture was intrusted to Matteo Bosso, superior of the monastery at Fiesole, whose probity and learning had recommended him to the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, and who has thus recorded the particulars of the investiture, (a) which took place on the ninth day of March, 1492. "On the evening of the preceding day, Giovanni ascended the hill of Fiesole to the monastery, simply clad, and with few companions. In the morning, being Sunday, Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, and Jacopo Salviati, who had married Lucretia, one of the daughters of

Giovanni
de' Medici
receives the
insignia of
his rank.

1492.

(a) The original is given from the *Recuperationes Fesulanæ* of Matteo Bosso—in App. to the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. ii. No. 65.

CHAP. I. Lorenzo, arrived at the monastery with a notary,
 I. and accompanied the young cardinal to the celebra-

A. D. 1492.
 A. Æt. 17.

tion of mass, where he took the holy sacrament with great devotion and humility. The superior then bestowed his benediction on the sacred vestments, and receiving the bull or brief of the pope, declared that the time therein limited for the reception of the cardinal was expired ; expressing at the same time his most fervent vows for the honour of the church, and the welfare of the cardinal, his father, and his country. He then invested him with the *pallium*, or mantle, to which he added the *bi-retum*, or cap, usually worn by cardinals, and the *galerus*, or hat, the distinctive emblem of their dignity, accompanying each with appropriate exhortations, that he would use them to the glory of God and his own salvation ; after which the friars of the monastery chaunted at the altar the hymn, *Veni Creator.*" The cardinal having thus received a portion of the apostolic powers, immediately tried their efficacy, by bestowing an indulgence on all those who had attended at the ceremony, and on all who should, on the anniversary of that day, visit the altar at Fiesole. The company then retired to a repast ; after which Piero de' Medici, the elder brother of the cardinal, arrived from the city, accompanied by a party of select friends, and mounted on a horse of extraordinary size and spirit, caparisoned with gold. In the mean time an immense multitude, as well on horseback as on foot, had proceeded from the gate of S. Gallo towards Fiesole ; but having received directions to stop at the bridge on the Mugnone, they were there met by the cardinal, who was conducted by the prelates

and chief magistrates of the city towards the palace of the Medici. On his arrival at the church of the *Annunciata*, he descended from his mule, and paid his devotions at the altar. In passing the church of the *Reparata*, he performed the same ceremony, and proceeded from thence to his paternal roof. The crowds of spectators, the acclamations, illuminations, and fire-works, are all introduced by the good abbot into his faithful picture; and the rejoicings on this event may be supposed to be similar to those which celebrate, with equal delight, a royal marriage, a blood-stained victory, or a long-wished for peace.

CHAP.

I.

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A. Æt. 17.

On the twelfth day of March, 1492, the cardinal de' Medici quitted Florence, for the purpose of paying his respects to the pope, and establishing his future residence at Rome. He was accompanied to the distance of two miles from the city by a great number of the principal inhabitants, and on the evening of the same day he arrived at his abbey of Passignano, where he took up his abode for the night. His retinue remained at the neighbouring town of Poggibonzo, whence they proceeded the next morning before the cardinal, to Siena. The inhabitants of that place being thus apprized of his approach, sent a deputation to attend him into the city, where, for several days, he experienced every possible mark of attention and respect, which he returned with a degree of urbanity and kindness that gained him the esteem and affection of all who saw him. From Siena he proceeded by easy stages towards Rome, having on his way been entertained by his relations of the Orsini family. At Viterbo he was met by his brother-in-law Frances-

Quits Florence to reside at Rome.

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co Cibò, son to the pope, who with many attendants had waited his approach, and accompanied him to Rome, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of March, in the midst of a most abundant shower of rain. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, he was met by many persons of rank, who attended him to the monastery of *S. Maria in Popolo*, where he reposed the first night after his arrival. On the following morning, all the cardinals then in Rome came to visit him, and immediately led him to the pope, who received him in full consistory, and gave him the holy kiss ; after which he was greeted with a similar mark of respect from each of the cardinals, and his attendants were permitted to kiss the feet of the pope. On his return to his residence, the rain still continued to pour down in copious torrents, and as the luxurious convenience of a modern chariot was then unknown, the cardinal and his numerous attendants were almost overwhelmed in their peregrinations. In the performance of these ceremonies, we are assured by one of his countrymen,^(a) that he surpassed the expectations of the spectators ; and that in his person and stature, no less than by the decorum of his behaviour, and the propriety of his language, he displayed the gravity of a man, and supported the dignity of a prelate. Such are the authentic particulars of the first entry into Rome, of one who was destined to revive her ancient splendour. The dignity of history may perhaps reject the unimportant narrative of processions and ceremonials ; but the character of an individual is often strongly marked by his conduct on

(a) *V. Appendix. No. XV.*

such occasions ; and the interest which that conduct generally excites, is a sufficient proof that it is considered by the public as no improbable indication of his future life and fortunes.

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Notwithstanding the numerous avocations which engaged the cardinal on his arrival at Rome, he did not fail to communicate to his father every particular which occurred.(a) In reply, Lorenzo transmitted to him that excellent and affectionate letter of paternal advice, which may with confidence be referred to as a proof of the great talents, and uncommon sagacity of its author ; and which, as having been written only a very short time before his death, has been, not inelegantly, compared to the last musical accents of the dying swan.(b)

At the time when Giovanni de' Medici took his seat in the sacred college, it was filled by many men of acknowledged abilities, but of great diversity of character ; several of whom afterwards acted an important part in the affairs of Europe. The eldest member of the college was Roderigo Borgia, who had enjoyed upwards of thirty-five years the dignity of the purple, to which he had, for a long time past, added that of vice-chancellor of the holy see. He was descended from the Lenzuoli, a respectable family of the city of Valen-

Cardinals of
eminence in
the college.

(a) One of these letters, preserved in the Florentine Archives, and not before printed, will be found in the Appendix, No XVI. As this is probably the earliest production now extant of its illustrious author, and was written in an unpremeditated manner, on his first entrance into public life, it cannot be perused, unadorned as it is, without peculiar interest.

(b) *Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. App. p. 312* ; and for this letter, *v. Life of Lor. de' Med. vol. ii. p. 146, 4to. ed.*

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cia in Spain, but on the elevation to the pontificate of his maternal uncle, Alfonzo Borgia, by the name of Calixtus III., he was called to Rome, where changing his name of Lenzuoli to that of Borgia, he was first appointed archbishop of Valencia, and afterwards cardinal of S. Nicolo, being then only twenty-five years of age. The private life of Roderigo had been a perpetual disgrace to his ecclesiastical functions. In adhering to his vow of celibacy, he had alleviated its severity by an intercourse with a Roman lady of the name of Vanozza, who, by the beauty of her person, and the attractions of her manners, had long possessed the chief place in his affections. His attachment to her appears however to have been sincere and uniform, and although his connexion was necessarily disavowed, he regarded her as a legitimate wife. By her he had several children, to whose education and advancement he paid great attention. Notwithstanding the irregularity of his private life, his acquaintance with the civil law, and with the politics of the times, had procured him the honour of many important embassies, on one of which he had been deputed by the pope to accommodate the differences that had risen between the kings of Portugal and of Aragon, in respect of their claims on the crown of Castile. Roderigo was not, however, formed by nature for a mediator, and returning without having effected the object of his mission, he had nearly perished by shipwreck, in the vicinity of Pisa, one of the vessels which accompanied him having been wholly lost in a violent storm, with one hundred and eighty persons on board, among whom were three bishops, and many other

men of rank and learning. If the character of Roderigo, who afterwards became supreme pontiff by the name of Alexander VI. is to be taken on the implicit credit of contemporary historians, this calamity was not greatly alleviated by the escape of the cardinal; on the contrary, had he shared the same fate, his destruction might perhaps have been a sufficient compensation to the world for the loss of all the rest.

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Another member of the college was Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Pius II. the celebrated Æneas Sylvius. He had long enjoyed his dignity, having been created cardinal by his uncle in the year 1460, when only seventeen years of age. The purity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and his zeal in discharging the duties of his station, formed a striking contrast to the profligacy and effrontery of Roderigo Borgia, and occasioned him to be chosen by his colleagues to heal those wounds which Roderigo had, in the course of his pontificate, inflicted on the Christian world; but the short space of time in which he administered the affairs of the church, under the name of Pius III. frustrated the hopes which had been formed on his elevation. Among those who had been nominated by Sixtus IV. was Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of *S. Pietro in Vincula*. The ambition and military spirit of this prelate seemed to have marked him out for a different employment; but in those days the crozier and the sword were not incompatible, and Giuliano made his way by the latter, rather than the former, to the supreme dignity which he afterwards enjoyed, by the name of Julius II. By the same nomination there still sat in the col-

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lege, *Raffaello Riario*, cardinal of *S. Giorgio*, who, under the directions of his great uncle *Sixtus IV.* had acted a principal part in the bloody conspiracy of the Pazzi. In assuming his seat among the fathers of the Christian Church, *Giovanni de' Medici* therefore found himself associated with one who had assisted in the murder of his uncle, and attempted the life of his father; but the youth and inexperience of *Riario*, had alleviated the enormity of a crime perpetrated under the sanction of the supreme pontiff, and subsequent transactions had occurred between the families of the pope and of the Medici, which might have obliterated the remembrance of this event, had not the pallid countenance of the cardinal occasionally recalled it to mind. (a) Among those of royal or of noble birth, the principal rank, after the death of *Giovanni d' Aragona*, son of *Ferdinand* king of Naples, was due to *Ascanio*, brother of *Lodovico Sforza*, who supported the dignity of his office with great splendor. The families of the *Orsini* and the *Calonna* generally maintained a powerful interest in the consistory, and the noble family of the *Caraffa*, which has long ranked as one of the principal in the kingdom of Naples, had also a representative in the person of *Oliviero Caraffa*, who had been nominated by *Paul II.*, and was one of the most respectable members of the college.

Zizim, brother of the Sultan *Bajazet*, delivered into the hands of the pope.

Among the cardinals who had been nominated by *Innocent VIII.* at the same time with *Giovanni de' Medici*, was *Pierre d'Aubusson*, grand master of Rhodes, upon whom that honour had been conferred as a reward for having surren-

(a) *V. Life of Lor. de' Med.* vol. i. p. 189, 4to. ed.

dered into the custody of the pope, an illustrious Turkish fugitive, who had been compelled, by the rage of fraternal resentment, to seek for safety among those of a different nation and a different faith. On the death of Mahomet, in the year 1482, that ferocious conqueror left his extensive dominions to his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim. Bajazet was tempted to avail himself of the powerful plea of primogeniture, to the exclusion of his brother, who had endeavoured, by personal merit, to compensate for the pretensions of seniority. The principal leaders of the Turkish troops were divided in their attachments to the two brothers, and perhaps that circumstance, rather than the courage or conduct of the duke of Calabria, delivered Italy from the devastation with which it was threatened by the Turks, when they had possessed themselves of the city of Otranto. After a struggle of some years, and several bloody engagements, victory declared for the elder brother, and Zizim, to avoid the bow-string, threw himself into the hands of the grand master of Rhodes, whilst his wife and children sought a refuge in Egypt, under the protection of the Sultan. The reception which he met with was highly honourable both to himself and his protector ; but the grand master, conceiving that his longer continuance at Rhodes might draw down upon the island the whole power of the Turkish state, sent him to France, whence he was soon afterwards transferred to Rome, into which city he made his public entry on the thirteenth day of March, 1489. Considerations of policy, if not of humanity, induced Innocent to receive him with great kindness ; and Francesco Cibò, with a long

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train of nobility, was deputed to attend him into the city. On his being admitted to an audience of the pope, in full consistory, he deranged the solemnity of the ceremony ; for notwithstanding the instructions which he had received, to bend his knees, and kiss the feet of his holiness, he marched firmly up to him, and applied that mark of respect to his shoulder. A chamber in the apostolic palace was allotted for his residence, and a guard appointed, which under the pretext of doing him honour, was directed to prevent his escape. In this situation an attempt was made to destroy the Turkish prince by Cristoforo Castagno, a nobleman of the *Marca d' Ancona*, who having entered into stipulations for an immense reward, by the terms of which, among other advantages, he was to be invested with the government of the island of Negropont, repaired to Rome, with the design of executing his treacherous purpose. Some suspicions, however, arose ; and it being discovered that he had recently returned from Constantinople, he was apprehended by order of the pope, and confessed, upon the rack, his atrocious intentions. Those apprehensions which Bajazet could not extinguish whilst his brother was living, he endeavoured to alleviate by prevailing on the pope to retain him in secure custody, for which he repaid him by the bribery of Christian relicks, and the more substantial present of considerable sums of money ; and Zizim accordingly remained a prisoner at Rome until the ensuing pontificate of Alexander VI. (a)

(a) On this occasion the Turkish emperor transmitted to the pope *the head of the spear which pierced the side of Jesus Christ*. This relick, according to an ancient chronicle, had been preserved at Con-

Notwithstanding the tranquillity which Italy had for some time enjoyed, the rumours of approaching calamities were not unfrequent. Those alarms and denunciations which have generally preceded great public commotions, although they may not arise from any supernatural interposition, are not always to be wholly disregarded. On the approach of the storm, the cattle, by a native instinct, retire to shelter; and the human mind may experience a secret dread, resulting from a concurrence of circumstances, which although not amounting to demonstration, may afford strong conviction of approaching evils, to a person of a warm and enthusiastic temperament. Those impressions which he is ready to impart, the public is prepared to receive; and the very credulity of mankind is itself a proof of impending danger. Whilst the city of Florence trembled at the bold and ter-

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Rumours of
public calamities.

stantinople before the capture of that place by the Turks, where it had been concealed by a citizen, from whom it was purchased by the emperor for 70,000 ducats. Some doubts arose among the members of the college, as to the authenticity of this relick, it being contended by some, that the true spear was at Nuremberg, and by others, that it was preserved in the *Sainte Chapelle* at Paris; but Innocent disregarded their objections; and directed that the present should be received in a solemn procession, in which it was carried by the pope himself, on the day of ascension, inclosed in a case of crystal. He was, however, so fatigued with the labour, and so oppressed by the tumults of the crowd, that he was unable to finish the ceremony. *Burchard. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi*, i. 94. The rage for collecting relicks seems at this period to have been at its height. In the official letters of Bartolommeo Scala, as chancellor of the Florentine Republic, we find one addressed to the grand Turk, requesting his interference with the inhabitants of Ragusa, to induce them to deliver up *the left arm of St. John the Baptist*, which they had intercepted in its way to Florence. *Band. Monument.* p. 17.

CHAP. I. rific harangues of Savonarola, who was at this time

rising to the height of his fatal popularity, a stranger
A. D. 1492. is said to have made his appearance at Rome, who
A. Æt. 17. in the habit of a mendicant, and with the appearance
of an idiot, ran through the streets, bearing a cruci-
fix, and foretelling, in a strain of forcible eloquence
the disasters that were shortly to ensue : particu-
larly to Florence, Venice, and Milan. With a pre-
cision, however, which a prudent prognosticator
should avoid, he ventured to fix the exact time
when these disorders were to commence ; and had
the still greater folly to add, that an angelic shep-
herd would shortly appear, who would collect the
scattered flock of true believers into the heavenly
fold. But the prescribed period having elapsed,
the predictions of the enthusiast were disregarded ;
and he had the good fortune to sink into his ori-
ginal obscurity, without having experienced that
fate, which has generally attended alike the pro-
phets and pseudo-prophets of all ages and all na-
tions.

CHAP. II.

1492.

STATE of literature in Rome—Pomponius Lætus—Calimachus Experiens—Paolo Cortese—Serafino D'Aquila—State of literature in other parts of Italy—Neapolitan academy—Giovanni Pontano—His Latin poetry compared with that of Politiano—Giacopo Sanazzaro—His Arcadia—and other writings—Enmity between the Neapolitan and Florentine scholars—Cariteo—Other members of the Neapolitan academy—State of literature in Ferrara—The two Strossi—Boiardo—Ariosto—Francesco Cieco—Nicolo Lelio Cosmico—Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, duke of Urbino—Francesco Gonzaga marquis of Mantua—Battista Mantuano—Lodovico Sforza encourages men of talents—Lionardo da Vinci—Eminent scholars at the court of Milan—The Bentivogli of Bologna—Codrus Urceus—Petrus Crinitus—Aldo Manuzio, his acquaintance with Alberto Pio lord of Carpi, and Pico of Mirandula—His motives for undertaking to print and publish the works of the ancients—Establishes his press at Venice, and founds an academy there—Progress and success of his undertaking.

CHAPTER II.

ALTHOUGH many causes concurred to render the *City*, as Rome was then emphatically called, the chief place in Italy, yet it was not at this time distinguished by the number or proficiency of those scholars whom it produced or patronized. An attempt had been made in the pontificate of Paul II. to establish an academy, or society for the research of antiquities, but the jealousy of that haughty and ignorant priest had defeated its object, and consigned the wretched scholars to the dungeon or the rack. Among those who had survived his barbarity was Julius Pomponius Lætus, who by his various writings and indefatigable labours, had at this early period been of no inconsiderable service to the cause of literature. To the testamentary kindness of Bartolommeo Platina, who had been his companion in his studies, and his fellow-sufferer in his misfortunes, and who died in the year 1481, Pomponius was indebted for a commodious and handsome residence in Rome, surrounded with pleasant gardens and plantations of laurel, where he yet lived at an advanced age, devoted to the society of his literary friends. (a)

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State of li-
terature in
Rome.

Pomponius
Lætus.

(a) Pomponius derived his origin from Calabria, and is supposed to have been of illegitimate birth; but his parentage, and even his real name, have escaped the researches of his admirers. The appellation of Julius Pomponius Lætus, he doubtless as-

CHAP.
II.

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Callima-
chus Expe-
riens.

His associate Filippo Buonaccorsi, better known by his academical name, *Callimachus Experiens*, had quitted Italy under the impressions of terror excited by the cruelty of Paul, and sought a refuge in Poland; where under Casimir and John Albert, the successive sovereigns of that country, he en-

sumed as an academical or scholastic distinction; but the name of Lætus was sometimes exchanged for that of *Fortunatus*, or *Infortunatus*, as the circumstances of his situation seemed to require: and Vossius supposes that Julius Pomponius Sabinus is no other than the same person. (*De Histor. Latinis*, lib. iii. p. 615.) From the letters of Politiano, it appears, that a frequent communication subsisted between these two eminent scholars, and that Pomponius was accustomed to furnish his learned friend with such curious monuments of antiquity as his researches supplied. We also learn from Crinitus, that Pomponius transmitted to Lorenzo de' Medici an antique marble, which exhibited the order of the months of the year, and of the Roman calendar; and the frequent commemoration of the family of the Medici, in the letters of Pomponius, manifests the good understanding that subsisted between them, which was probably increased by the arrival of the cardinal in Rome. The works of Pomponius are very numerous, and many of them have frequently been reprinted; but his most useful production is his description of the antiquities of Rome. Erasmus commends the unaffected elegance of his style. "Pomponius Lætus, elegantia Romanâ contentus, nihil affectavit ultra." Bartolommeo Martiano (*Diss. Voss. ii. 242.*) has justly appreciated the merits of this early scholar, whom he ranks with Tortelli and Blondo. "Scripsere nullo pene discrimine, vera pariter et falsa, apta atque inepta: tamen eos qui primi omnium hanc scribendi provinciam aggressi sunt, ob eam causam non indignos laude existimavimus, quod ad plura utilioraque inveniendam viam posteris ostendisse videmus." To Pomponius we are also indebted for the earliest editions of several of the Roman Classics, and among others, *Terentius Varro*, Ven. 1474, fo.; *Silius Italicus*, Romæ, 1471, fo.; *Quintus Curtius*, Romæ, per Georgium Laver, absque anni nota; *Columella*, published with the *Rei Rusticæ Scriptores*, Bonon. 1494, where he styles himself Pomponius Fortunatus, in consequence of which he is cited by the bibliographer De Bure, as a distinct author. *Bibliogr. Instr.* No. 1527. To these edition

joyed for several years some of the chief offices of the state. The distinguished favours bestowed on him by those princes, could not fail of exciting the resentment of their subjects, who were jealous of the interference of a foreigner and a fugitive; but the virtue or the good fortune of Callimachus, were superior to the attacks of his adversaries, and he retained his eminent station, with undiminished honour, to the close of his days. (a)

CHAP.
II.

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But although the misfortunes which had befallen this early institution, had considerably damped the spirit of improvement at Rome, yet the disaster

of the Roman authors published by Pomponius, Count Bossi has added that of *Pompejus Festus*, of which he possessed an edition without date, marked at the close with the words FINIS POMPEII FESTI QUEM POMPONIVS CORREXIT. HANS. GLIM. *Ital. Tr.* vol. xii. p. 208.

(a) This illustrious scholar was born at San Gemignano, of a noble family, in the year 1437. On associating himself with Pomponius in the Roman academy, he relinquished his family name, and adopted that of *Callimachus*, which he probably thought expressed in Greek the same idea as Buonaccorsi in Italian. His addition of *Experiens* is conjectured by Zeno to have arisen from the vicissitudes which he met with in life; but this is to suppose, that he did not assume it till after those vicissitudes had taken place. It is more probable that he merely meant to infer, that all true knowledge must be founded on experience. His flight to Poland is thus adverted to by Cantilicio, a contemporary poet, and prelate of the church. It must be premised, that the name of Paul II. was Pietro Barbo.

“ Callimachus, Barbos fugiens ex urbe furores,
Barbara quæ fuerant regna, Latina facit.”

His history of the affairs of Hungary, which he wrote at the instance of the great Mattia Corvino, is preferred by Jovius to any historical work which had appeared since the days of Tacitus. *Voss. de Hist. Lat.* lib. iii. p. 619. Count Bossi, of Milan, possessed a MS. on vellum, of Latin epigrams of this author; some of which have not been printed. *Ital. Tr.* vol. i. p. 85. Callima-

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Paolo Cortese.

was in some degree repaired by the talents of Paolo Cortese ; who, at an early period of life, had signalized himself by his dialogue *De hominibus doctis*, which he had inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici. (a) The approbation which Politiano expressed of this youthful production, was such as that great scholar was seldom induced to bestow; not because he was jealous of the talents of others, but because he was sincere in his commendation of their works, and was enabled, by his own proficiency, to judge of their merits and defects. Some years afterwards, when Cortese was appointed one of the apostolic notaries, a new institution was formed by him, the members of which met under his own roof, and passed their time, without formal restrictions, either in the perusal of such works as his elegant library supplied, or in conversation on

chus died at Cracow, in the year 1496. His remains were deposited in a tomb of bronze, with the following inscription :

PHILIPPUS CALLIMACHUS EXPERIENS, *natione Thuscus, vir doctissimus, utriusque fortunæ exemplum imitandum, atque omnis virtutis cultor præcipuus, divi olim CAZIMIRI et JOHANNIS ALBERTI, Poloniae regum, secretarius acceptissimus, Relictis ingenii, ac rerum a se gestarum, pluribus monumentis, cum summo omnium bonorum mærore, et regiae domus, atque hujus reipub. incommodo, anno salutis nostræ, MCCCXCVI. calendis Novembris, vita decedens, hic sepultus est.*

(a) The dedicatory epistle is as honourable to the talents of the author, as to the character of the patron. The work itself met with great applause ; and the friends of Cortese advised him to publish it ; notwithstanding which it remained in MS. till the year 1734, when it was given to the public by Manni, from a copy found by Alex. Politi, at S. Gemignano. Some account of another work by Cortese, *In Sententias*, or on the doctrine of faith, is given by Mr. Hencke in a note on this passage ; in which he highly appreciates that work. *v. Germ. Tr. vol. i. p. 55.*

literary topics. Besides his treatise before mentioned, he was the author of many other works ;(a) but his premature death prevented the world from reaping the full fruits of his talents and his labours.

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Among those who attended the literary meetings of Cortese, was the poet Serafino d' Aquila. At a time when the Italian language was yet struggling to divest itself of its impurities and defects, the works of Serafino were not without some share of merit. He was born at Aquila, in Abruzzo, of a respectable family, and passed a part of his youthful years in the court of the count of Potenza, where he acquired a knowledge of music. Returning to his native place, he applied himself for three years to the study of the works of Dante and of Petrarca, after which he accompanied the cardinal Ascanio Sforza to Rome. During his whole life Serafino seems to have changed the place of his residence as often as the favours of the great held out to him a sufficient inducement. Hence we find him successively in the service, or at the courts, of the king of Naples, the duke of Urbino, the marquis of Mantua, the duke of Milan, and finally of Cæsar Borgia. Nor must we wonder, that Serafino was sought for as a compa-

Serafino
d' Aquila.

(a) Among these are his treatise *De Cardinalatu*, and several theological works. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. par. 1, p. 85, 232. In another department of letters, he was however excelled by his brother Alessandro, who was one of the most elegant Latin poets of that period, as appears by his heroic poem, entitled *Laudes bellicæ Matthiæ Corvini Hungariæ regis.* *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* iii. 157. From this piece it appears, that Alessandro had followed the fortunes of this great prince, who was not excelled in his love of literature by any monarch of his time.

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nion, to alleviate the anxiety, or banish the languor of greatness; for he superadded to his talent for poetical composition, that of singing extempore verses to the lute, and was one of the most celebrated *Improvvisatori* of his time. This circumstance may sufficiently explain the reason of the superior degree of reputation which he obtained during his lifetime, to that which he has since enjoyed. (a)

State of literature in other parts of Italy.

Such was the state of literature, and the talents of its chief professors, in the city of Rome, at the time when the cardinal de' Medici took up his re-

(a) The works of Serafino were often reprinted in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first edition is that of Rome, 1503; but that of the Giunti, 1516, is the most beautiful and correct. Amidst the hasty effusions of Serafino, we sometimes meet with passages which prove him to have been a genuine poet; as in the opening of his *Capitolo* to sleep:

“Placido sonno, che dal ciel in terra
Tacito scendi a tranquillar la mente,
E de' sospir a mitigar la guerra!

“Ben fai tu spesso i miei desir contenti;
Che in lieto sonno a me conduci quella,
Che pasce il cor de sì lunghi tormenti.”

These lines seem to have been imitated by the celebrated Giovanni della Casa, in the sonnet beginning,

“O sonno, o della queta, umida, ombrosa,
Notte, placido figlio.”

And more evidently by Filicaja, the finest modern lyric poet of Italy, about the year 1700, in his *terzine*, *Al Sonno*.

“Cara Morte de' sensi, oblio de' mali.”

Serafino died in 1500, in his thirty-fourth year. On his tomb, in S. Maria del Popolo, was inscribed the following hyperbolic eulogium, by his friend Bernardo Accolti:

“Qui giace Serafin: partirti or puoi;
Sol d'aver visto il sasso che lo serra
Assai sei debitor agli occhi tuoi.”

sidence there; and it must be confessed that, notwithstanding the laudable exertions of the few distinguished scholars before mentioned, that place had not hitherto brought forth those fruits which might have been expected from the munificence of Nicholas V., and the example of Pius II. Nor is it to be denied, that in almost every other city of Italy, the interests of letters and of science were attended to with more assiduity than in the chief place in Christendom. At Naples an illustrious band of scholars had, under better auspices, instituted an academy, which had subsisted for many years in great credit. Of this the celebrated Pontano was at this time the chief director, whence it has usually been denominated *the Academy of Pontano*.^(a) It was, however, originally established in the reign of Alfonso I., by Antonio Beccatelli, Bartolommeo Facio, Lorenzo Valla, and other eminent men, whom that patron of letters had attracted to his court. The place of as-

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Neapolitan
academy.

(a) On entering the Neapolitan academy, Pontano changed his baptismal name of *Giovanni* for *Jovianus*. This custom is pleasantly ridiculed by Ariosto, in his sixth satire, inscribed to Pietro Bembo :

“ Il nome, che d’ Apostolo ti denno,
O d’ alcun minor santo, i padri, quando
Christiano d’ acqua, non d’ altro ti fenno,
In *Cosmico*, in *Pomponio* vai mutando ;
Altri Pietro in *Pierio*, altri Giovanni
In *Jano* e in *Jovian* v’ à riconciando ;
Quasi che’l nome i buon giudicj inganni,
E che quel meglio t’abbia a far Poeta
Che non farà lo studio di molt’ anni.”

We are informed by Count Bossi, (*Ital. Tr.* vol. i. p. 89) that the *Academia Pontaniana* still exists at Naples, and numbers amongst its members many persons eminent in science and literature.

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sembly was denominated the Portico, and being situated near the residence of Beccatelli, that distinguished scholar, and favourite of Alfonso, was its earliest and most constant visitor.^(a) After the death of Beccatelli, his friend and disciple Pontano, was appointed chief of the academy, and under his direction it rose to a considerable degree of respectability.

Giovanni
Pontano.

Few scholars, who have owed their eminence merely to their talents, have enjoyed a degree of respect and dignity equal to Pontano. His writings, both in verse and prose, are extremely numerous; but, as they are wholly in the Latin language, he cannot be enumerated among those, who, at this period, laboured, with so much assiduity and success, in the improvement of their native tongue. The versatility of his talents, and the extent of his scientific acquirements, are chiefly evinced by his works in prose: ^(b) in which he appears successively as a grammarian, a politician, an historian, a satirist, and a natural and moral philosopher. These writings are now, however, in a great degree, consigned to oblivion; nor is it difficult to account for the neglect which they have experienced. His grammatical treatise *De Aspiratione*, in two books, instead of exhibiting a philosophical investigation of general rules, degenerates into an ill-arranged and tiresome catalogue of particular examples. Nor do we feel

^(a) For some account of Beccatelli, v. *Life of Lor. de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 51, 4to. ed.

^(b) First collected and published under the directions of Pietro Summonte, by Andrea d'Asola, at Venice, vol. i. 1518; vols. ii. and iii. 1519, 8vo. afterwards published at *Basil*, 1538.

more inclined to indulge such a trial of our patience, on account of the instance which he alleges of the orator Messala, who wrote a whole book on the letter *s*. In natural philosophy his writings chiefly relate to the science of astronomy, in which he appears to have made great proficiency; but they are at the same time disgraced by a frequent mixture of judicial astrology; and afford a convincing proof that, when an author builds on false grounds, and reasons on false principles, the greater his talents are, the greater will be his absurdities. His moral treatises are indeed the most valuable of his writings; but they are injured by the unbounded fertility of his imagination, and exhibit rather all that can be said on the subject, than all that ought to be said. From some scattered passages it appears, however, that he had formed an idea of laying a more substantial basis for philosophical inquiries, than the world had theretofore known; and had obtained, though in dim and distant prospect, a glimpse of that nobler edifice, which about a century afterwards, was more fully displayed to the immortal Bacon, and in comparison with which the fabrics of the schoolmen, like the magic castles of romance, have vanished into air. (a)

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Of the satirical talents of Pontano, if we take his *Asinus* as a specimen, no very favourable opinion can be entertained. (b) His poetry is, however,

His Latin
poetry com-
pared with
that of Po-
litiano.

(a) “ De spe ita quidem mihi persuadeo, brevi fore quod dixi, ut et philosophia clariorem formam induat, cumque una sit et certa veritas, minime futura sit tam varia et lubrica, et qui eloquentiam sequuntur habeant unde facilius hauriant, quod exornare verbis possint.” *Pont. de Obedientia*.

(b) This is a kind of drama, in which a traveller, an innkeeper,

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entitled to great approbation, and will always rank him, if not the first, at least in the very first rank of modern Latin poets. Under his control, that language displays a facility, a grace, to which it had been for upwards of a thousand years a stranger; and in the series of Latin writers, his works may be placed next to those of the Augustan age, which they will not disgrace by their proximity. They display a great variety of elegiac, lyric, and epigrammatic productions; but his *Hendecasyllabi* are preferred to the rest of his writings.(a) An

and a courier, are introduced, rejoicing in the restoration of peace, which the courier attributes to the exertions of Pontano. The blessings of peace are then chanted by a chorus of priests, after which Altilio, Pardo, and Cariteo, three of his most intimate friends, lament together the insanity of Pontano; who has of late devoted all his time to the feeding and decorating an *ass*. Pontano soon afterwards appears, accompanied by his gardener, with whom he holds a long and serious conversation on the grafting of trees, and the improvement of his garden. A boy then brings in his favourite *ass*, and Pontano determines to wash and comb him; but beginning at the tail, is molested by a very natural circumstance. He then undertakes to perform that operation on the head; when in return for his kindness, the stupid animal seizes and bites him by the hand, and Pontano finds, too late, *that they who attempt to wash the face of an ass, lose both their soap and their labour*. “*Asino caput qui lavent, eos operam cum sapone amittere.*” This piece has been said to refer to the duke of Calabria, who, as Pontano thought, did not sufficiently repay the services which he had performed, in effecting a peace with the pope, in the year 1486; but if Pontano was capable of this gross abuse of the son of his great patron and benefactor, whom he constantly celebrated with the most open flattery, he deserves as much censure for the malevolence of his purpose, as for the imbecility of its execution.

(a) The poetical remains of Pontano were published in 2 vols. 12mo., the first by Aldo, in 1513, the second by Andrea d’Asola, the associate and successor of Aldo, in 1518.

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eminent critic has not indeed hesitated to give Pontano the preference in point of elegance, to Politiano himself.^(a) Nor will a candid judge be inclined to oppose this opinion, as far as relates to ease and fluency of style; that of Pontano being uniformly graceful and unlaboured, whilst in that of Politiano, an attempt may at times be perceived to force the genius of the language to the expression of his own ideas. But if an inquiry were to be instituted into the respective merits of these great men, this circumstance alone would not be sufficient to decide the question. The subjects on which Pontano has treated, are mostly of a general nature: amatory verses, convivial invitations, or elegiac effusions. Even in his *Urania*, or poem on the stars, and his *Hortus Hesperidum*, or poem on the cultivation of the orange, he seldom treads at any great distance from the track of the ancients. His sentiments are therefore rather accommodated to the language, than the language to his sentiments. But with Politiano the case is reversed: with a more vigorous mind, and a wider range of thought, he disdained to be limited to prescriptive modes of expression, and in embodying his ideas, relied on his own genius. Hence, whilst Pontano is at one time an imitator of Virgil, and at another of Horace, Catullus, or Propertius, Politiano is himself an original, and owns no subservience to any of the great writers of antiquity; whom, however, he has shewn that he was capable of imitating, had he chosen it, with great exactness. Pontano may therefore be al-

(a) "Politiano adhuc politior." *Borrichius de poetis, ap. Blount, Censura authorum.* 502.

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Sanazzaro.

lowed to take the precedence of Politiano, with respect to the grace and facility of his verse, without detracting from the intrinsic merits of that sound scholar and very extraordinary man.(a)

Not less celebrated than the name of Pontano, is that of his friend and countryman, Sanazzaro, who is equally distinguished by the excellence of his Latin and Italian compositions. He was born at Naples, in the year 1458, of a respectable family, which claimed consanguinity with San Naz-zaro, one of the saints of the Roman church.(b)

(a) The political and literary labours of Pontano, and the chief circumstances of his public and private life, are commemorated in a beautiful elegiac poem of his friend Sanazzaro. *Eleg. lib. i. El. 9.* Ed. Comin. 1731.

“ Qui primus patrios potuit liquisse penates.”

(b) By a singular coincidence, Sanazzaro was born on the very day devoted to that saint, being the twenty-eighth day of July. Of the opulence, the rank, and the achievements of his ancestors, he has left in his writings many memorials. From these it appears, that his family was originally of Spain, and that Niccolo, one of his ancestors, followed Carlo Durazzo in a high military capacity, when he obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. His services were repaid by the princely reward of the castle of Mondragone, and an extensive territory in the province of Lucania, which were enjoyed by Giacopo, his son, the grandfather of the poet, till he was deprived of them by his opposition to the dissolute conduct, and oppressive measures, of Joanna, the sister and successor of Ladislaus king of Naples. From that period the possessions of his family were considered as inferior to their rank; and, although they still enjoyed an honourable independence, their reduced state, and lost honours, are a frequent subject of the poet's complaint. *Arcadia, prosa 7; Crispo, vita di San. p. 2.* His nativity, on the feast of San Nazzaro, is commemorated in the following inscriptive lines, on dedicating a chapel to that saint, and in many other parts of his works :

“ Divo Nazario.

Natali quod, Dive, tuo, lucem editus hausì;

Quod tua nascenti lux mihi prima fuit;

Under the instructions of Giuniano Majo, Sanazzaro chiefly acquired the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, the latter of which he cultivated in an eminent degree. On entering into the Neapolitan academy, he relinquished his appellation of Giacopo, and adopted the name of *Actius Syncerus*, by which he is usually known. The friendship of Pontano, and his own merits, recommended him at an early age to the favour of Ferdinand king of Naples, and of his sons, Alfonso and Federigo, to whom, throughout all their calamities, he maintained an unshaken attachment. For the amusement of these princes he is said to have written several dramatic pieces in the Neapolitan dialect, which highly delighted the populace ;(a) but perhaps the earliest assignable date to any of his works, is the year 1492, when the great events and changes which occurred in the world by the expulsion of the Moors from Grenada, and the discovery of Hispaniola by Columbus, attracted in a high degree the public attention in every part of Europe. It is indeed a singular coincidence, that in the same year in which the

Actius hoc riguo parvum cum fonte sacellum

Dedico ; tu nutu fac rata vota tuo ;

Ut quæ Sextiles lux venerit ante calendas

Quarta, sit hic generi bis celebranda meo ;

Et quod solennes revocat tua festa per aras ;

Et quod natalem contigit esse meam."

(a) "Nè pur oggi è fatto antico in Napoli, fra gli altri suoi componimenti, uno, detto dal volgo di essa Città, *Gliomero*, nome conveniente all' opera, in cui si raccolgono tutte sentenze, e voci goffe, del parlare antico Napolitano, con digressioni molto ridicole, segni non oscuri della fertilità dell' ingegno di esso poeta." *Crispo, in vita San.* p. 9 ; and see Mr. Joseph Cooper Walker's *Essay on the Italian Drama*, p. 69.

CHAP. II. Spanish sovereigns freed their country from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke, they should themselves have commenced a similar invasion on the natural rights of others. The discovery of the new world gave rise to many singular and extravagant notions, which are striking proofs of the credulity of the age.^(a) But the conquest of Grenada was celebrated throughout all Christendom;^(b) and with particular splendour at Naples, the sovereigns of which were so nearly allied, both by blood and marriage, to the reigning family of Spain. On this occasion Sanazzaro produced a dramatic poem, which was performed before Alfonso duke of Calabria, at Naples, on the fourth day of March, 1492.^(c) Nor was it only by the labours of the pen that Sanazzaro obtained the favour of his great patrons. The contests which arose in Italy had called forth the military talents of Alfonso, who after having expelled the Turks from Otranto, fought the battles of his country with various success. In these expeditions he was accompanied by Sanazzaro, who in his Latin poems frequently adverts to his warlike exploits,

(a) *Monaldeschi Commentarii Historici*, lib. xvi. Ed. Ven. 1784. *Bembo, Istoria Veneta*, lib. vi.

(b) An account of the rejoicings in London, on this occasion, may be found in Hollinshed's Chronicle.

(c) The plan of this piece is extremely simple. Mahomet first appears lamenting his defeat, and flying before the Christian army; after which, *Faith* and *Joy* successively enter the stage, in appropriate habiliments, and exult in his defeat, and the representation terminates with a masquerade and a dance. This *Farsa*, as it appears to have been entitled by the author, remained in MS. till the year 1719, when it was published at Naples, and has since been usually annexed to the Italian writings of Sanazzaro.

with the consciousness of one whose services have been neither unknown nor unimportant. CHAP.
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Of the writings of Sanazzaro in his native language, the most celebrated is the *Arcadia*, which for purity of style, and elegance of expression, is allowed to have excelled all that Italy had before produced.^(a) This performance is also a species of drama, in which the interlocutors express themselves in verse; but every dialogue is preceded by an introduction in a kind of poetical prose, the supposed dialect of Arcadian shepherds. If the applauses with which this piece was received, and the commendations bestowed upon it in the lifetime of the author, be considered as inadequate proofs of its merit, the numerous editions of it, which appeared in the course of the ensuing century, are a more unequivocal testimony of its excellence; and the latest historian of Italian literature acknowledges, that after the lapse of three centuries, the *Arcadia* is justly esteemed as one of the most elegant compositions in the Italian language.^(b) It must however be confessed, that this piece is not now read without some effort against that involuntary languor, which works of great length, and little interest, never fail to occasion. This may perhaps be attributed to the alternate recurrence of prose and verse, a species of composition, which has never succeeded in any

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His Arca-
dia.

(a) On this passage Count Bossi has remarked, that I seem to have forgotten the divine productions of *Dante* and *Petrarca*; but I am here speaking of what may be called the second and effective revival of Italian literature, and I presume it will be so understood by the reader.*

(b) *Tirab.* vii. par. iii. p. 74. About sixty editions of the *Arcadia* appeared before the year 1600.

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age, or in any country, and which even the genius of La Fontaine could not raise into celebrity ;(a) to the use of poetical prose, that hermaphrodite of literature, equally deprived of masculine vigour and of feminine grace ; to the repetition of the *versi sdrucchioli*, which terminate every line with a rapidity approaching to the ludicrous, and prevent that variety of pauses which is essential to numerous composition. If to these causes we add the very inartificial, and almost unconnected plan of the poem, and the total want of variety in the sentiments and characters, we shall be at no loss to account for the present neglect of a work, which may however be esteemed as a production of uncommon merit at the time when it appeared, and as having contributed in an eminent degree to form and to refine the Italian tongue.

And other
writings.

If, however, the Arcadia of Sanazzaro had never been written, his sonnets and lyric pieces would have secured to him the distinction of one of the chief poets that Italy has produced. It has indeed been supposed, that if the increasing celebrity of Pietro Bembo, had not deprived Sanazzaro of the hope of being considered as the principal restorer of Italian literature, he would have pursued that object with still greater energy and success.(b) The rivalry of these two eminent men, whilst it rather cemented than relaxed the friendship that subsisted between them, eventually led them to pursue, by a kind of tacit consent, each a different path to fame ; and whilst Bembo persevered in cultivating his native tongue, Sanazzaro turned all

(a) *Les Amours de Psyche et de Cupidon.*(b) *Crispo, Vita di San.* p. 24, et not. 63.

his powers to the improvement of his talents for Latin poetry, in which department his productions will occur to our future notice.

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When we advert to the great degree of attention paid to the cultivation of polite letters, both in Naples and in Florence, at this period, it may seem extraordinary that so little intercourse subsisted between the scholars in those places. In the *Epistolæ* of Politiano, we find indeed a letter from him to Pontano on the death of Ferdinand of Naples, written in the most respectful and flattering terms; (a) but no answer to this letter appears in the collection, and as it was customary for Politiano to insert the replies of his friends, we may be assured, that either none was returned, or that it was not calculated to do much honour to the person to whom it was addressed. It also appears, that Pontano had, on some former occasion, excused himself from the task of correspondence, to which Politiano, with an unusual degree of condescension, replies, “you have my full consent, as long as I know you honour me with your esteem, not only not to reply to my letters, but even not to read them.” This indifference on the part of Pontano, who has, on no occasion, introduced the name of Politiano in his works, may perhaps be taken as no equivocal indication of his disregard, whilst his intimacy with Scala and Marullus, the avowed enemies of Politiano, may serve to confirm the suspicion. But the works of Sanazzaro afford examples of more direct hostility. In the year 1489, Politiano published his *Miscellanea*, in which he conjectures, that Catullus, under the emblem of

Enmity between the Neapolitan and Florentine scholars.

(a) *Pol. Ep.* lib. ii. ep. 7.

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his sparrow, concealed an idea too indecent to be more fully expressed. (a) Why this observation should have excited the resentment of the Neapolitan scholars, who were by no means remarkable for the moral purity of their compositions, it is not easy to discover; (b) but among the epigrams of Sanazzaro are some verses addressed, *Ad Pulicianum*, (a term of reproach of which Scala had set the example) in which he with great severity alludes to this criticism, which he treats with the utmost ridicule and contempt. (c) Not satisfied with this attack, he returns to the charge; and, in another copy of verses, bestows on the object of his resentment the most unqualified abuse. (d) In other parts of his works he inveighs against certain authors, who contaminate the precincts of Parnassus by their envy and malignity, among whom it is highly probable that he meant to include the Florentine scholar. (e) As Politiano was, of all men living, the most unlikely to submit to these insults

(a) This he infers from the conclusion of an epigram of Martial:

“Da mi basia, sed Catulliana,
 Quæ si tot fuerint quot ille dixit,
 Donabo tibi passerem Catulli.”

Polit. Miscel. lib. i. cap. 6.

(b) Pontano had himself not only commented on the works of Catullus, as appears by an epigram of Sanazzaro, *De emendatione Catulli, ad Jovianum*; but had adopted and amplified the idea of Politiano in an epigram, which he entitles *Cui donaturus sit suam columbam. Op. Poet. i. 232.*

(c) *Sanazzar. Epig. lib. i. ep. 61.*

“Ait nescio quis Pulicianus.”

A piece much more remarkable for its indecency than its wit, and infinitely more reprehensible than the passage to which it adverts.

(d) *Ib. ep. 61.*

(e) *Eleg. lib. i. el. 11. In maledicos detractores.*

without a reply, we may be allowed to conjecture that these hostile pieces, at whatever time they were written, were not made public till after his death.

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Another member of the academy, and distinguished literary ornament of Naples, was the poet Cariteo, whose family-name has been lost in his poetical appellation. He is said to have been a native of Barcelona, and it appears from his own writings, that he was connected by consanguinity with Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who also held a place in the academy. (a) Of his friendly intercourse with the first scholars and chief nobility of Naples, and even with the individuals of the reigning family there, his works afford innumerable instances, whilst in those of Sanazzaro and Pontano, he is frequently mentioned with particular affection and commendation. (b) His writings,

- (a) "E tu, Corvino mio, poi ch'io ti mostro,
Che di sangue e d'amor son teco giunto,
Parla di me con penna, e con inchiostro."

Cariteo, contra i malevoli, in fine.

(b) Thus Sanazzaro :

"Quin et rite suos genio Chariteus honores
Præbeat, et festas concinet ante dapes." *Eleg. lib. i.*

And Pontano addresses *Ad Chariteum*, his Hendecasyllabi, in which he celebrates the baths of Baia. Cariteo himself thus anticipates the applause of his friends :

"Parla di me il Pontan, quel bel tesoro
D'Apollo, e delle Aonide sorelle,
Che con la lingua sparge un fiume d'oro.

"Depinto io son nel opre eterne e belle
Del mio bel Sanazar, vero Syncerq,
Ch' allora io giugnero fin a le stelle."

Cariteo, contra i malevoli.

He also attributes the name by which he is now known, to the favour of Sanazzaro :

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which are wholly in the Italian tongue, are characterized by a vigour of sentiment, and a genuine vein of poetry. Without rivalling the elegance of the Tuscan poets, they possess also a considerable share of ease and harmony. Some of these compositions refer, in a very particular manner, to the characters of the principal persons, and to the political events of the times. (a) The animosity of the Neapolitan scholars against those of Florence, is further evinced by the writings of Cariteo. In one of his *Canzoni* he insinuates, that the splendor of Dante and of Petrarca has eclipsed the fame of all their countrymen, an observation evidently intended to humiliate the present race of scholars, under a pretext of paying homage to the past; (b) and in his *Risposta contra i malevoli*, to whomsoever he meant to apply that appellation, he has exceeded Sanazzaro himself in expressions of his resentment and abuse.

The other members, who composed the literary

“ Quando di quel liquor Parthenopeo
Syncero mi pascea, dlce cantando,
 Con le charite, ond' io fui CHARITEO.”

Cariteo, Pascha. Cant. 6, in fin.

(a) They were collected and published by his surviving friend, Pietro Summonte, at Naples, 1509, 4to. From this edition, a Canzone consecrated to the praise of the royal family of Naples, and of his literary friends, and containing some passages of great merit, is given in the Appendix. It is to be observed, however, that the predictions of the poet were speedily reversed, by the entire ruin of his great patrons. v. *Appendix*, No. XVII.

(b) “ Se i due soli, di cui l' Arno si gloria
 Onde *Béatrice* e *Laura* hor son divine,
 Offuscan l' altre stelle Fiorentine,
 Non torran a *Sebeto* la sua gloria.
 Vivan le muse.”

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bers of the
Neapolitan
academy.

institution of Naples, were arranged according to the different districts of the city, or the realm, and the society also associated to itself, as honorary members, the most eminent scholars in other parts of Europe. (a) Among those who contributed at this time to its credit, was Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, duke of Atri, on whom all the academicians of Naples have bestowed the highest honours. (b) Pontano dedicated to him his two books *De rebus Cœlestibus*; Piero Summonte inscribed to him all his works. He is celebrated in the poems of Sanazzaro, no less for his warlike exploits, than for his literary accomplishments. (c) Alessandro de' Alessandri dedicated to him the first book of his *Geniales Dies*, and Cariteo enumerates him among his particular friends. (d) Of his writings there yet remain his commentaries, called

(a) It is to be regretted, that the Neapolitan historians have supplied us with little more than the names of those eminent men, who at this early period did so much honour to the literature of their country; and even these lists are not correct, as they contain the names of several persons who flourished at a later period. We are indeed informed by Apostolo Zeno, (*Disser. Voss. cap. 78.*) that Bernardo Cristoforo, a learned Neapolitan, had written the history of this early institution, in a work entitled *Academia Pontani, sive vitæ illustrium virorum, qui cum Jo. Joviano Pontano Neapoli floruerunt*; but the manuscript has been irrecoverably lost. I cannot, however, pass over these illustrious names, without giving such particulars respecting them as have fallen in my way.

(b) "Principem virum," says Pontano, "et in mediis philosophantem belli ardoribus." *Pontan. de Magnanim.*

(c) "De Andrea Matthæo Aquivivo.

Cernis ut exsultet patriis Aquivivus in armis,

Duraque spumanti frena relaxet equo?

Quis mites illum Permessi hausisse liquores

Credat, et imbelles excoluisse lyras?"

San. Epig. lib. ii. ep. 2.

(d) Cariteo, *Risposta contra i Malevoli.*

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by Paulo Giovio his *Encyclopædia*, and according to the last mentioned author, four books of moral disquisitions, which, as he says, contain *Di bellissime Sottilezze*; but these are the same work, published under different titles. (a) He lived to an advanced age, and distinguished himself, with various success, in the wars which soon after this period desolated his country. His example descended to his posterity; and the dukes of Atri are celebrated as an uninterrupted series of great and learned men. His brother, Belisario Acquaviva, duke of Nardi, was also a member of the society; and, as appears by his writings, attained great proficiency in those studies, to which he had been incited by the example of his near and illustrious relative, (b) whom he also rivalled in his military talents, and towards whom he displayed an act of magnanimity, which confers lasting honour on his memory. (c)

(a) *Commentarii in translationem libelli Plutarchi Chæronæi, de virtute morali. Neap. ex Off. Ant. de Fritiis. 1526.*

This was printed at the author's own press, at Naples; it was afterwards republished by his son, Antonio Donato, and entitled *Illustrium et exquisitissimarum disputationum libri quatuor, quibus omnes Divinæ et humanæ sapientiæ, præsertim animi moderatricis, musicæ atq. astrologiæ arcana, in Plutarchi Chæronæi de virtute morali præceptionibus recondita, summo ingenii acumine resecta patefiunt, et figuris, suo quæque loco, illustrantur. Helionopoli. ap. Jo. Theodobaldum, 1609, 4to.*

(b) The principal work of Belisario consists of his treatises *De Venatione, et de Aucupio; de Re Militari et singulari Certamine; de instituendis Principum Liberis, Paraphrasis in Economica Aristotelis*. First printed at Naples, 1519, folio, afterwards at Basil, 1578, 8vo. Sanazzaro, in one of his Epigrams, lib. ii. 38. *De Lauro, ad Neritina ducem*, has celebrated his munificence in re-establishing, in his city of Nardo, the academy *Del Lauro*.

(c) On the descent of Charles VIII. into Naples, the duke of Atri, being suspected of having favoured the cause of the French,

These noblemen were of the district of Nido; (a) as was also Trojanò Cavanilla, count of Troja and Montella, another splendid ornament of the Neapolitan academy, to whom Sanazzaro has inscribed his poem, entitled *Salices*; (b) and who, although not enumerated by the Italian historians among their authors, appears to have signalized himself by his researches into antiquity. (c) From the same district was also Giovanni di Sangro, a Neapolitan patrician, to whom Sanazzaro, dying of unsuccessful love, commits the care of his poetical rites. (d)

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was deprived, by his sovereign, of the fee of Comersano, from which he derived his title of count, which was conferred on his brother Belisario; but no sooner had these commotions subsided, than Belisario voluntarily relinquished his new possessions in favour of his brother, to whom they were restored by the king; and Belisario was created count, and afterwards duke of Nardi.

Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia, i. 120.

(a) The origin of these divisions of the city of Naples, called by the inhabitants *Seggi*, is fully explained by Giannone in his history of Naples, lib. xx. cap. 4. to which I must refer.

(b) "Accipe flumineas properatum carmen ad undas,
O mihi non dubia, *Cabanili*, cognite fama;
Sed longe varios rerum spectate per usus:
Nam tibi me doctæ sic devinxere sorores,
Sic mea felici permulcent pectora cura,
Ut vix ulla queam melioris tempora vitæ
Te sine, vix placidos pernoctem carpere somnos."

(c) "Ipse suæ referat *Cabanilius* ardua Trojæ
Mœnia, et antiquos, Appula regna, lares."
Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 11.

(d) "Proh superi, tennes ibit Syncerus in auras?
Nec poterit nigri vincere fata rogi?
At tu, quandoquidem Nemesis jubet, optime *Sangri*,
(Nec fas est homini vincere posse deam)
Accipe concussæ tabulas atque arma carinæ,
Naufragique mei collige reliquias;

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Of the department of Capua were Girolamo Carbone, known to the world by his poetical writings, (a) and frequently mentioned with particular applause by Pontano, Sanazzaro, and Cariteo; (b) and Tristano Carraccioli, who is commemorated by Sanazzaro in his *Arcadia*, (c) and who has left a brief memoir, in Latin, of his patron, (d) with whom he appears to have lived on terms of great intimacy. (e)

No one of the academicians was held in higher esteem for his judgment in matters of taste, than Francesco Poderico, or Puderico, of the district of Montagna. To him Pontano and Sanazzaro inscribed many of their works, and Pietro Sum-

Errantesque cie quocunque in littore manes;
Taliaque in tumulo carmina cæde meo:
Actius hic jaceo, spes mecum extincta quiescit;
Solus de nostro funere restat amor."

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 10.

(a) *Sonetti, Sestine, ed altre poesie di Girolamo Carbone, Cavaliere Napolitano. Napoli. 1506, in fo.*

(b) "At tu castaliis non inficiande choreis
Castalidos, Carbo, nunc cane regna tuæ."

Sanaz. El. lib. i. el. 11.

Et v. Pontani Hendec. p. 215. De Sermone, p. 231. Eridan. p. 105; also the beautiful elegy of Pontano, inviting him to a rustic supper. *Eridan. i. 120*, and the sonnet of Cariteo,

"Carbone, in cui scintillan bragie accese."

(c) "Ma a guisa d' un bel sol, fra tutti radia
Carracciol, ch' in sonar sampogne e cetere,
Non troverebbe il pari in tutta Arcadia."

But perhaps some doubt may be entertained, whether this passage may not relate to Gian-Francesco Carraccioli, who lived at this period, and whose poems were printed at Naples, in 1506. *v. Quadrio, ii. 222.*

(d) Printed by Roberto de Sarno, at the end of his life of Pontano. *Napoli. 1761.*

(e) *Pontani, de Sermone, lib. iv. p. 231.*

monte addressed to him, after the death of its author, the dialogue of Pontano, entitled *Actius*. Although deprived of sight, the talents of Poderico rendered him the delight of all his literary friends. (a) Such was the respect paid to his opinion by Sanazzaro, that in the composition of his celebrated poem *De partu Virginis*, which he was twenty years in completing, he is said to have consulted him upon every verse, and frequently to have expressed the same verse in ten different forms, before he could please the ear of this fastidious critic. (b) Among the *Tumuli* of Pontano, which his officious kindness frequently devoted to his living friends, is one inscribed to Poderico, from the title to which it appears, that he ranked among the nobility of Naples. (c)

(a) *Pontani, Hendec. lib. i. p. 206.*

(b) In one of his poems, of which only a fragment remains, Sanazzaro solicits the favour of his friend.

“Tuque ades, o nostri merces non parva laboris,
Quem Phœbus mihi, quem doctæ, mea turba, puellæ
Conciliant; dumque ipse ratem de littore pello,
Da vela insinuans, pelagoque excurrere patenti,
Pars animæ, Pudrice, meæ.” *Sanaz. Op. Ed. Comino, 91.*

And in celebrating the day of his nativity, he has the following passage:

“Adde tuos, Pudrice, sales; adde inclyta patris
Eloquia; adde animo tot bona parta tuo.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. el. 2.

Which, however, it must be observed, is addressed to Alberico, the son of Francesco, of whom Pontano relates the following anecdote: *De Sermone, lib. iv. p. 231*: “Garriebat quispiam, nostra in porticu, quem ferre Albericus Pudericus Francisci nostri filius cum non posset, nullo dato responso, manu sublata, monuit, nasum ut emungerit; quo e signo mirificus inter astantes exortus est risus.”

(c) *Pontani, Tumul.* where he is called “ex nobilitate Neapolitana.

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Of the district of Porto were Pietro-Jacopo Gianuario, of whom an Italian poem, in manuscript, has been preserved, (a) and his son, Alfonso Gianuario, of Portanova.

The only member of the academy from the district of Porto, if we except Sanazzaro, was Alessandro de' Alessandri, author of the *Geniales Dies*, a work which has been esteemed, and frequently commented on as one of the classical productions of the Latin tongue. He was born of a noble family of Naples, about the year 1461, and in the early part of his life, exercised with reputation, the profession of an advocate, at Naples and at Rome ; but his intimacy with the learned men of his time, seduced him from his employment, and led him to the study of polite literature. Besides his principal work, he is said to have been the author of several dissertations on dreams, spectres, and on houses haunted by evil spirits, which are considered as proofs of childish credulity ; but it may be doubted, whether these are any other than his chapters on those subjects in his *Geniales Dies*. (b) Of that collection very different opinions have been entertained, and he has been accused of having stolen even the plan of his work from Aulus Gellius. But what is there peculiar in a plan, which consists only in dividing a certain number of unconnected obser-

(a) *Vita di Sanazzar. da Crespo. Ven. 1752, p. 8*, where it appears, that this poem was formerly in the possession of Matteo Egizio, an Italian lawyer.

(b) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. par. ii. p. 240*. They were however printed separately, under the title of *Alexandri Icti Dissertationes quatuor, &c.*, as has been remarked by Mr. Henke, (in *Germ. Tr. vol. i. p. 80*,) from which we learn the real name of this author. *

uations into a certain number of books? In truth, his works prove him to have been a man of extensive reading, great industry, and a considerable share of critical ability, and he was perhaps as little tinctured with superstition, as most of the writers of the age in which he lived. (a)

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Among those who resided beyond the districts, were Antonio Carbone, lord of Alise; Giovanni Elio, called also Elio Marchese; (b) Giuniano Majo, the preceptor of Sanazzaro, (c) and who has left a monument of his singular learning in his treatise *De priscorum proprietate verborum*; (d) Luca Grasso; Giovanni Aniso, whose Latin poems are published under the name of Janus Anysius, and author of a tragedy entitled *Protogonos*; (e) the poet Cariteo; Pietro Compare, frequently addressed

(a) The *Geniales Dies* were first published at Naples, in 1522. In the first chapter of the second book is an interesting account of the manner in which Sanazzaro was accustomed to entertain his literary friends.

(b) "Ælius at blandæ fretus dulcedine linguæ
Facunda totos conterat arte dies." *Sanaz. El. lib. i. el. 11.*

(c) "Nectat honorata Majus sua dicta corona;
Tamque pias ferulas regia sceptrâ vocet." *Ibid.*

Cariteo also commemorates,

"Musefilo et Majo, anime argute,
Ciascune Quintiliano al secol nostro,
Moderator de l'aspra gioventute." *Contra i malevoli.*

(d) First printed at Naples, in 1475, and again in 1480; it was also printed at Treves, 1477 and 1480, and at Venice, 1482.

(e) *Jani Anysii varia poemata et Satyræ*, Neap. 1531, 4to. *Ejusdem Anysii Tragedia cui titulus, PROTOGONOS*, Neap. 1536, 4to. Cælio Calcagnini thus adverts to the writings of Aniso:

"Quis non Anysii dulce carmen, et Musas
Exosculetur? quæ adeo dulce dictarunt
Carmen; cui invidere plurimi possint;
Quod æmulari aut alter, aut queat nemo."
Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. iii. 68.

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by Pontano as his associate in the rites of Bacchus and of Venus; (a) Pietro Summonte, himself an elegant writer, and to whose pious care we are indebted for the preservation of the works of many of his learned friends; (b) Tomaso Fusco; (c) Ru-

(a) *Pontan. Hendec.* pp. 189, 213. *Epigr.* 233; some of which rival Catullus, both in elegance and indecency. That Piero was distinguished by his own writings, appears from the beautiful and affectionate lines of Sanazzaro, on his death. *Epigr.* lib. ii. 15. He is also enumerated by the poet among his particular friends, and celebrated for his wit and vivacity:

“Nec minus et Musæ repetens monimenta jocosæ
Compater, argutos ingerat ore sales.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 11.

Pontano dedicated to him a monument in his chapel at Naples, with the following inscription:

“PETRO COMPATRI, VIRO OFFICIOSISSIMO
PONTANUS POSUIT, CONSTANTEM OB AMICITIAM.”

(b) For which he is celebrated in the following exquisite verses by Sanazzaro:

“Excitat obstrictas tumulis Summontius umbras;
Impleat ut sanctæ munus amicitiae:
Utque prius vivos, sic et post fata sodales
Observat; tristes et sedet ante rogos:
Nec tantum violas cineri, ac benevolentia ponit
Serta, sed et lachrymis irrigat ossa piis.
Parva loquor: cultis reparat monumenta libellis;
Cum possint longam saxa timere diem.
At tu, vivaci quæ fulcis nomina Fama,
Poscenti gratas, Musa, repende vices;
Ut quoniam dulces optat sic vivere amicos,
Vivat, et in libris sit sacer ille meis.”

Sanaz. Epigr. lib. ii. 9.

To Summonte, Cariteo has also addressed the highly commendatory sonnets, beginning,

“Summontio, in dubbio sono ove nascesti.”

and,

“Summontio mio, dal summo Aonio monte.”

(c) To Tomaso Fusco, Sanazzaro has addressed his Elegy on the calends of December. *Lib.* iii. el. 3.

tilio Zenone; (a) Girolamo Angeriano, whose poems have been published with those of Marullus and Johannes Secundus; (b) Antonio Tebaldeo, an Italian poet of considerable eminence, who chiefly resided at Ferrara, and whose writings will occur to our future notice; Girolamo Borgia, a Latin poet; (c) and Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who had in his youth distinguished himself by his poetical compositions. (d)

Of the Regnicoli were Gabriele Altilio, bishop of Policastro, author of the celebrated Epithalamium on the marriage of Gian-Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Aragon, and the frequent subject of the panegyric of his contemporaries; (e) Antonio

(a) "Certent Socraticis Zenonis scripta libellis;
Cujus apis vernos intulit ore favos."

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 11.

(b) *Poetæ tres elegantissimi; scilicet, Michael Marullus, Hieronymus Angerianus, et Joannes Secundus.* Paris, 1582. Many of his works are also inserted in the *Carmina illustr. Poet. Italorum*, the merits of which he has himself well appreciated in the following lines, entitled, *Libellum ad Lectorem*.

"Doctrinam si forte cupis, si forte lepores
Pierios, Domini, ne lege scripta mei;
Dum nimis igne calet, solum describit inertes
Curas, et quanta est Celia, quantus amor."

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. i. 298.

(c) A favourable specimen of his writings is given in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. ii. 427*. One of the Elegies of Pontano is addressed *Ad Hieronymum Borgium, poetam elegantissimum. Amores*, p. 129: from which we learn, that the family of Borgia was originally of Spain, and that his ancestors, having visited Italy, on a warlike expedition, had there taken up their abode.

(d) "Quique velut tenera surgit novus arbore ramus
Corvinus, quavis aurè probanda canat." *San. Eleg. i. 11.*

(e) This Epithalamium is published in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. i. 129*. It is also printed, with a few other pieces of the same author, at the close of the works of Sanazzaro, by Comino, *Patav. 1731, 4to.* where numerous testimonies are collected of the

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Galateo of Lecce, deservedly held in high estimation in his profession, as a physician, and whose attainments in natural and moral philosophy, were much beyond the level of the age in which he lived; (a) and Giovanni Eliseo, of Anfratta, in Apulia, better known as a Latin poet, by the name of Elysus Calentius. (b)

merits of Altilius. Some of these pieces had, however, before been printed with the works of Sanazzaro, Daniel Cereti, and the brothers of the Amalthei, illustrated by the notes of Peter Vlammingii, *Amst.* 1728, in one vol. 8vo. which may be united with the variorum editions of the classics. The Epithalamium was translated into Italian by Giovanni Battista Carminati, a Venetian nobleman; and published by Comino, in the year 1730, after the death of the translator. *Quadrio*, ii. 587.

(a) Galateo is said to have indicated the possibility of the navigation to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, in his treatise *De situ Elementorum*, published in 1501, but written some years prior to that period. *Tirab.* vi. 1. 166. In his moral writings, he combated, with sound reason, the prevailing notions of supernatural agency. *Tirab.* vi. 1. 296. He also illustrated the topography of his native country with accurate maps and descriptions. *Giovio, Iscritt.* 211. Galateo is not only celebrated in the works of the poets of the time, for his great acquirements and amiable qualities, but was himself also a poet of considerable merit.

(b) His works were printed at Rome, in 1503, under the title of *Opuscula Elysi Calentii; Poetæ clarissimi, &c.* This volume is extremely rare; having, as it is supposed, been suppressed, although sanctioned by a privilege from the court of Rome, *v. De Bure*, 2892. This author has obtained a place among the unfortunate sons of literature, whom Tollius has enumerated in his Appendix to Valerianus, p. 11. It appears, however, that his misfortunes were occasioned by his amorous propensities, which engrossed both his talents and his time. To this the following elegant lines of Angelo Colocci refer:

“ Sumpserat Elysus calamum scripturus amoris
Sævitiâ, tenuem risit amor calamum:
Pectus et arrepta transfixit arundine, dicens,
Judice te, dic, quis fortior est calamus.”

Colocci vita, a Ubaldino. Rom. 1673.

The associated strangers, whose names have been preserved to us, were Lodovico Montalto, of Syracuse; (a) Pietro Gravina, a canon of Naples, and a Latin poet of the first celebrity; (b) Marc-Antonio Flaminio, of Sicily, a distinguished scholar, but not to be mistaken for the celebrated Latin poet of the same name, a native of Serravalle; Egidio, afterwards cardinal of Viterbo; (c) Bartolommeo Scala, of Florence; (d) Basilio Zanchi, of Bergamo, distinguished by the elegance of his Latin compositions, (e) and whose beautiful verses on the death of Sanazzaro were translated into Italian, by the great Torquato Tasso; Jacopo Sadoleti, afterwards secretary to Leo X. and who, at a more advanced period of life, attained the dignity of the purple; Giovanni Cotta, of Verona, who followed the fortunes of the celebrated Venetian General, Bartolommeo d'Alviano, and whose Latin poems may aspire to rank with those of Navagero, Fracastoro, and Aniso, with whom he lived

(a) His praises are warmly celebrated by Sanazzaro. *Eleg.* lib. ii. el. 6.

(b) The Epigrams of Gravina are preferred by Sanazzaro to those of all his contemporaries. His poems were printed at Naples, in 1532, 4to. A few of them are also inserted in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* v. 366. Among the Hendecasyllabi of Pontano is an invitation to Gravina, to partake with him the voluptuous retreat of Baja. *Pont. Op.* p. 208.

(c) A disciple of Mariano Genazzano, and said by Giovio to have far excelled his master in learning and eloquence. *Iscrit.* 161. In his youth he cultivated Italian poetry, and his Stanze, entitled *Caccia de Amore*, evince considerable poetical talents. They have often been printed, particularly with the works of Girolamo Benivieni, *Ven.* 1526, and with sundry poems of Benivieni and Bojardo. *Ven.* 1537.

(d) *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. pp. 86, 88, 4to. ed.

(e) Published at Rome, 1540, 4to. and again at Basil, 1555, 8vo.

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in habits of friendship ; (a) Matteo Albino ; (b) Pietro Bembo ; Antonio Michele, of Venice ; Giovan-
Pietro Valeriano, of Belluno ; (c) Nicolas Grudius, of Rohan ; (d) Giacomo Latino, of Flanders ; Giovanni Pardo, often celebrated in the writings of Sanazzaro and Pontano : (e) and Michaelæ Marullus of Constantinople, who excelled all his countrymen in the elegance of his Latin compositions. (f)

(a) The poems of Cotta are printed in the scarce volume of the *Carmina v. illustrium Poetarum, scilicet, Petri Bembi, And. Naugerii, Balth. Castilioni, Joannis Cottæ, et M. Ant. Flamini. Ven. Vulgrisi, 1548, 8vo.* Some of them also appear in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* iii. 490, and in other collections.

(b) “ Et qui Pieriis resonat non ultimus antris,
Albinus, referat principis acta sui.”

(c) Author of the treatise *De Literatorum Infelicitate*, and a distinguished Latin poet, to whose works we shall have occasion to advert.

(d) Probably the father of the poet Joannes Secundus, and his two learned brothers, Nicolas and Hadrian Marius, whose works were published together at Leyden, by Vulcanius, *ap. Kitz.* 1612.

(e) A few scattered productions of Pardo appear in the works of Pontano and Sanazzaro ; which shew that he had imbibed the same elegance of Latin composition that distinguished the other members of the Neapolitan academy. Cariteo denominates him

“ Pardo insigne, e chiaro,
Per gemino idioma al mondo altero.”

Contra i malevoli.

(f) His works were published at Florence, 1497, under the title of *Hymni et Epigrammata Marulli*, 4to. The commendations bestowed upon him by the younger Beroaldo, are highly honourable both to the Greek and Italian, whose countrymen were too often jealous of the reputation of the eastern fugitives. “ Ille homo transmarinus nostrates versu provocavit ; atque in hoc studio ita enituit, ut cum quolibet non suæ modo ætatis vati, sed etiam antiquorum conferri possit. Epigrammata scripsit, quibus humanos affectus, mores, actionesque, mire complexus est ; executus jucunda lepide, gravia severe, mœsta flebiliter, taxanda

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Of this numerous catalogue it is but justice to observe, that there is scarcely an individual who has not, by the labours of the sword or of the pen, entitled himself to the notice of the biographer, and the approbation of posterity. Nor would it be difficult to make considerable additions to it, if the foregoing account were not amply sufficient to demonstrate the ardour and success with which polite letters were cultivated at Naples, under the princes of the house of Aragon. (a)

Next to the cities of Naples and Florence, per-

mordaciter, grandia audacter, sententiosa sapienter; omniaque hæc pari ingenio. Hymnos vero primus apud Romanos, et eo quidem spiritu conscripsit, ut ab ipsis Diis quos celebravit, quodam numine afflatus esse videatur." *Beroald. Ep. ad Herm. Bentivolium. in Op. Codri Urcei, p. 285.*

(a) To this enumeration of the Neapolitan poets, at the close of the fifteenth century, I must, however, be allowed to add the name of *Fillenio Gallo*, of Montesano; of whose writings a MS. copy, of this period, is in my possession. *Paullo Giovio*, who, with a laudable curiosity, collected the portraits of many of the eminent men of his own, and preceding times, enumerates at the close of the first book of his *Elogii*, the names of several distinguished persons, of whom he had already obtained portraits, and whose characters he intended for his second book—"che essendo ancora in vita, godono l'eccelsa gloria de' lor fecondi ingegni." Among these, he enumerates *Phylandro Gallo*, who may, perhaps, be presumed to be the same person who is above, and in his own writings, called *Fillenio*. With the exception of this doubtful reference, I find no account of this author in any of the records of Italian literature. That he lived towards the close of the fifteenth century, abundantly appears from his writings; which consist of Eclogues, Sonnets, Sestini, and other lyric compositions. His style approaches nearer to that of *Serafino d'Aquila* than any other author. In the Appendix to the present volume, may be found a specimen of his writings, none of which have before been printed. v. *App. No. XVIII.*

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terature in
Ferrara.

haps no place in Italy had fairer pretensions to literary eminence than Ferrara. During the whole of the fifteenth century the family of Este, who had held the sovereignty of that place for many generations, had displayed an invariable attention to the cause of letters, and had rewarded their professors with a munificence that attracted them from all parts of Italy, and rendered Ferrara a flourishing theatre of science and of arts. At the close of the century, that city, with its dependant states of Modena and Reggio, were under the government of Ercole I. the successor of Borso, whom the favour of the populace had preferred to his nephew Nicolo d' Este, the son of the celebrated Leonello. The succession to the sceptre of Ferrara, exhibits indeed a striking instance of the disregard which was then paid to the laws generally established on that subject, and of the great attention bestowed on personal merit. By Ercole the University of Ferrara was maintained in high respectability; the library of his family was increased; a superb theatre was erected for the representation of dramatic performances, in which the first piece acted was the *Menæchmus* of Plautus, which is said to have been translated into Italian for that purpose by the duke himself. (a) When such was the character of

(a) We learn from a Latin elegy of Battista Guarino, that the representation of this piece in the year 1486, attracted the attention, and excited the wonder, of all Italy. After describing the splendid preparations made for that purpose by the duke, he adverts to the great concourse of people which it induced to visit Ferrara—

“ Venit et ad magnos populosa Bononia ludos,
Et cum finitimis Mantua principibus;
Euganeis junctæ properarunt collibus urbes,

the sovereign, we shall not be surprised at the number of learned men who frequented his court, and who dignified his reign by the acknowledged excellence of their productions. (a) Not to dwell on the merits of Ottavio Cleofilo, Luca Riva, Lodovico Bigi, Tribraço Modonese, Lodovico Carro, and others, who cultivated Latin poetry with various success; the works of the two Strozzi, Tito Vespasiano, the father, and Ercole, the son, are alone sufficient to place Ferrara high in literary rank among the cities of Italy.

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These distinguished Latin poets were of the illustrious family of the same name at Florence, whence Nanna Strozzi, the father of Tito, passed to Ferrara in the military service of Niccolo III. in which he acquired great honour. (b) The rank, the talents, and the learning of Tito, rendered him a fit person to negotiate the affairs of Ercole duke

The two
Strozzi.

Quique bibunt lymphas, Arne vadose, tuas;
Hinc plebs, hinc equites plauserunt, inde senatus,
Hinc cum Virgineo nupta caterva choro."

Pandolfo Collenuccio of Pesaro, who excelled not only as a professor of the civil law, but in other departments of literature, as appears from the correspondence between him and Politiano, (*Pol. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 32. 35.*) produced two dramatic pieces for the theatre of Ferrara. The *Anfitrione*, printed at Venice, 1530, and *Joseph*, in 1564. Girolamo Berardo, of Ferrara, the Count Matteo Maria Boiardo, and Battista Guarino, also exerted their talents on this occasion. *v. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vi. 2. 187.*

(a) A contemporary writer assures us, that poets were as plentiful in the city, as frogs in the territory, of Ferrara.

"Nam tot Ferraria vates,
Quot ranas, tellus Ferrariensis, habet."

Bartol. Pag. Prignani. ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vi. 2. 218.

(b) *Tit. Vesp. Strozze Epitaph. pro Nanne patre, in op. 145.*

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of Ferrara, with foreign powers, and he was accordingly employed as his ambassador on several important missions. He also occasionally held some of the first offices in the state, in the execution of which he appears to have incurred, at times, no small share of popular odium. In the midst, however, of the occupations and storms of his public life, he cultivated his talents for Latin poetry with unremitting attention, and has even endeavoured to render his compositions the vehicle of his justification to posterity. (a) The writings of Tito are distinguished by their simplicity, and purity of diction, rather than by their strength of sentiment or energy of style. (b) In some of his pieces he has celebrated the antiquity of his family, and the opulence and achievements of his ancestors; whilst in others, he has taken occasion to acquaint posterity with some particulars of his own life and cha-

(a) The scholars of the fifteenth century thought it as necessary to have an adversary, on whom they might lavish their abuse, as a mistress, to whom they might address their amorous effusions. The satirical talents of Tito are directed against some person, whom he denominates Gorellus, and who, if we may credit the poet,

“ civilibus armis

Expulsus patria, jam quatuor exulat annos,
Damnatus Romæ furti, se carcere fracto
Eripuisse cruci fertur, Senamque profectus,
Dum cauti, atque manu prompti Lenonis, amicam
Pollicitus maria ac montes, abducere tentat,
Turpiter amisit, truncatis naribus, aures.”

He afterwards enters into a justification of his public conduct.
v. Serm. ad. Bonav. Pistophilum. Op. 142.

(b) We are informed by Tiraboschi, that many unpublished poems of this distinguished scholar remain in the ducal library at Modena, “ ed alcune assai più eleganti di quelle, che han vedute la luce.” *Storia della Let. Ital. vi. par. ii. p. 209.*

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racter. Ercole Strozzi stands yet higher in the annals of literature, than his father. Eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, he had not neglected the cultivation of his own, in which he wrote with uncommon elegance. By his fellow-citizen, Celio Calcagnini, he is celebrated for his integrity, his magnanimity, and his filial piety; and for all those qualities which endear a man to his friends, and to his country. (a) A short time before his death, Tito Strozzi had begun a Latin poem, in praise of Borso d' Este, of which he had completed ten books, and which he requested his son to finish and publish, with a correct edition of his other poems; but Ercole did not survive long enough, either to complete the task imposed upon him, by the publication of his father's writings, or to correct his own; having been assassinated in the year 1508, and in the prime of life, by a nobleman who had unsuccessfully paid his addresses to the lady whom Ercole had married. (b) That task was therefore intrusted by Guido and Lorenzo, his surviving brothers, to the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio, who in the year 1513, gave these poems to the public in an elegant and correct edition.

In enumerating the learned men, who at this time resided in the state of Ferrara, it would be unpar-

Boiardo.

(a) *Calcagnini, Oratio in Funere Herculis Strozze, in fine Strozz. Op. p. 148.*

(b) In one of his elegies, lib. i. p. 69, he seems not to have been without apprehensions of his untimely fate; after indulging in the idea that his mistress would lament his death, he adds—

“ Sed jam summa venit fatis urgentibus hora,
Ah! nec amica mihi, nec mihi mater adest;
Altera ut ore legat properæ suspiria vitæ,
Altera uti condant lumina, et ossa tegat.”

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donable to omit another accomplished scholar, and celebrated poet, who died in the year 1494, and who will not therefore occur again to our particular notice. The eminent Matteo Maria Boiardo, Count of Scandiano, was born in the territory of Ferrara, about the year 1430, and spent in that city the chief part of his life, honoured with the favour and friendship of Borso, and Ercole d' Este, and frequently intrusted by them, as governor of the subordinate cities in their dominion. (a) Boiardo is principally known by his epic romance, of *Orlando Innamorato*, of which the yet more celebrated poem of Ariosto, is not only an imitation, but a continuation. Of this work, he did not live to complete the third book, nor is it probable that any part of it had the advantage of his last corrections; yet it is justly regarded as exhibiting, upon the whole, a warmth of imagination, and a vivacity of colouring, which render it highly interesting; (b)

(a) In particular, he held the chief command for several years at Reggio, where he died, on the twentieth day of February, 1494; as appears by a MS. chronicle of his contemporary, Bernardino de' Zambotti, cited by Mazzuchelli.—“A di 20 Febbraro, il Magnifico Conte Matteo Maria Bojardo, Signor di Scandiano, Capitano di Reggio, e della Cittadella, morì in Reggio, il quale era valente uomo, e dotto in versi, in prosa, e in rima; faceto, cauto, e sapientissimo; molto diletto al Duca nostro, e a tutta la casa d'Este.” &c. *Scrittori d' Ital.* v. 1438.

(b) The *Orlando Innamorato* was first printed in Scandiano, per Pellegrino Pasquali, ad istanza del Conte Camillo Boiardo, son of the author, about the year 1495, and afterwards in Venice, about the year 1500; which latter De Bure erroneously cites as the first edition, *Bib. Instr.* No. 3377. The labours of Boiardo had terminated at the ninth canto of the third book, from which period it was continued by Niccolo degli Agostini; and of this joint production, numerous editions have been published.

nor is it perhaps without reason, that the simplicity of the original has occasioned it to be preferred to the same work, as altered or reformed by Francesco Berni, who has carried the marvellous to such an extreme, as to deprive his narrative of all pretensions to even poetic probability, and by his manifest attempts to be always jocular, has too often destroyed the effects of his jocularity. (*a*)

Less known, but not less valuable, than his epic poem, are the three books of sonnets, and lyric pieces by Boiardo, collected and published after his death, under the Latin title of *Amores*, (*b*) although wholly consisting of Italian poems. When it is considered, that the greater part of these pieces were written at a time when the Tuscan poetry was in its lowest state of debasement, we may justly be surprised at the choice of expression which they frequently display, and the purity of style by which they are almost invariably characterized. At the request of his great patron, Ercole duke of Ferrara, Boiardo also composed his comedy of *Timone*,

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(*a*) Besides the *rifacciamento* of this poem by Berni, of which the best editions are those of Calvo, *Milan*, 1542, and the Giunti, *Venice*, 1545; the poem was corrected and altered by Lodovico Dominichi, and published at Venice, by Girolamo Scotto, in 1545, and several times afterwards.

(*b*) Printed at Reggio, *per Maestro Francesco Mazolo*, in 1499, and at Venice, *per Sessa*, in 1501, 4to. “Rarissime sono amenable queste edizioni,” says Mazzuchelli, v. 1443.—Besides this volume, Boiardo is the author of *Cinque Capitoli in terza rima sopra il Timore, la Gelosia, la Speranza, l' Amore, ed il Trionfo del vano mondo*; which have been frequently printed, with other detached poems by Benivieni and the cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, of which editions it may be sufficient to cite that of Venice, by Nicolo d' Aristotele, detto Zoppino, 1537.

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founded on one of the dialogues of Lucian. (a) Nor was Boiardo only one of the most eminent poets, he was also one of the most learned men of his age. From the Greek he translated into his native tongue, the history of Herodotus, (b) and the *Asinus* of Lucian. (c) Of his Latin poetry, many specimens yet remain, and Tiraboschi has mentioned ten eclogues, in that language, inscribed to Ercole I. which are preserved in the ducal library of Modena, and which, as he assures us, are full of grace and elegance. (d)

Ariosto.

At this time the celebrated Ariosto, who was destined to build his immortal work upon the foundation laid by Boiardo, was only eighteen years of age; (e) but even at this early period, he had exhibited that strong inclination to the cultivation of literature, and particularly of poetry, which distin-

(a) First printed without note of date, or place, afterwards in Scandiano, 1500, Venice, 1504, &c. "Questa Commedia," says Mazzuchelli, "che è in terza rima, divisa in cinque atti, è degna di stima per quanto portava quel secolo; ed ha poi un pregio distinto, cioè, d'essere considerata la più antica delle Commedie Italiane, comechè il Crescimbeni la ponga piuttosto nella specie delle Farse." *Scrittori d'Italia*, v. 1443.

(b) Frequently reprinted after the first edition of Venice, 1533.

(c) Printed at Venice with the *Proverbi* of Antonio Cornazzano, by Zoppino, 1523, 8vo. Several other works of Boiardo are cited by the indefatigable Mazzuchelli, *ut sup.*

(d) *Tirab. Storia della Letter. Ital.* vii. par. i. 176.

(e) His father, Niccolò di Rinaldo Ariosto, was a nobleman of Ferrara. In a passport granted to him in the year 1471, by Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, he is honoured with the title of Count, and denominated the friend of the Marquis. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. par. iii. 100. Lodovico was born in the year 1474, at the Castle of Reggio, of which place his father was governor.

guished him to the close of his days, and the story of *Thisbe*, as adapted by him to a dramatic form, was represented by himself, with his brothers and sisters, in his father's residence. (a) He was first destined to the study of the law ; but after five years of irksome and unprofitable labour, he finally quit-
ted that occupation, and applied himself to the cultivation of the Latin language, under the instructions of Gregory of Spoleto. (b) His predilection for theatrical compositions, which he had further displayed in his two comedies, entitled *La Cassaria*, and *I Suppositi*, both written in prose, whilst he was very young, (c) probably recommended him to the notice of Ercole I. whom he accompanied in the year 1491, to Milan, for the purpose of enjoying the theatrical amusements by which that place was distinguished. From this time he devoted himself to the service of the family of Este, either in the court of the duke, or in that of the cardinal Ippolito, and will occur to our future notice, not only as a poet, but as engaged in the political transactions of the times.

(a) *Pigna, i Romanzi*, p. 72.

(b) “ Ahi lasso, quando ebbi al Pegaseo melo
L'età disposta, e che le fresche guancie
Non si vedeano ancor fiorir d'un pelo,
Mio padre mi cacciò con spiedi e lancie
Non che con sproni, a volger testi è chiose,
E m'occupò cinque anni in quelle ciancie.”

Ariost. Sat. 6.

“ Fortuna molto mi fu allora amica,
Che mi offerse Gregorio da Spoleti,
Che ragion vuol che sempre io benedica.
Tenea d'ambe le lingue i bei secreti,” &c. *Ibid.*

(c) They were afterwards altered into *versi sdrucchioli*, by Ariosto, and have been frequently printed, as well separately as together with his other works.

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Cieco.

The city of Ferrara may indeed be considered as the cradle of modern epic poetry ; (a) for besides the celebrated authors before mentioned, that place might at this time have boasted of a third, whose writings not only obtained for him, during his lifetime, a great share of celebrity, but have afforded passages which have since been imitated by the immortal Tasso. Of their author, Francesco Cieco, very few particulars are known. That he had enjoyed the favour of the Cardinal Ippolito, and was therefore, in all probability, a native of Ferrara, may be inferred from the dedication of his epic poem, of *Mambriano*, (b) published by his surviving relation, Eliseo Conosciuti, in the year 1509. (c) This piece, which extends to forty-five cantos, relates the adventures of a king of Asia, whose name forms the title of the work. That it long maintained its rank with the great contemporary productions of Italy, is sufficiently apparent ; and the neglect which it has in later times experienced, is attributed by Zeno to its not having had the good fortune,

(a) "In a period of near three thousand years," says Mr. Gibbon, adverting to the works of Ariosto and Tasso, in his antiquities of the House of Brunswick, "five great epic poets have arisen in the world ; and it is a singular prerogative, that two of the five should be claimed as their own, by a short age, and a petty state."

(b) *Zeno, note al Fontanini*, i. 259, where he conjectures, that this work was written about the time of the descent of Charles VIII. to the conquest of Naples, in 1494. It is entitled *Libro d'arme e d'amore, cognominato Mambriano, di Francesco Cieco da Ferrara. . Ferrariæ, per Joannem Baciochum Mondenum, 20 Octobris, 1509, 4to.*

(c) "Prego che sotto il suo auspizio, Mambriano del servitore suo venga impresso, e per suo solito benignitade non neghi alla memoria d'esso Francescho quel favore, di che vivendo lui, quelle tante volte gli fu liberalissimo."

like the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, to meet with any one to continue its subject, or to reform its style.

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Nicolò Le-
lio Cosmico.

Few persons enjoyed at this period a higher share of literary reputation than Nicolo Lelio Cosmico, and few persons have so effectually lost that reputation in the estimation of posterity. He is not even enumerated by the diligent Crescimbeni as one of the poets of Italy; yet three editions of his works were printed in the fifteenth century, (a) and he is the frequent subject of applause among the most distinguished scholars of the time. (b) He was a native of Padua, and spent some of his early years in the court of the marquis of Mantua; but the chief part of his life was passed in the society of the scholars of Ferrara. His own compositions were principally Italian, but he also aspired to the reputation of a Latin poet; and Giraldi, a judicious critic, whilst he censures the arrogant and satirical disposition of the author, acknowledges the merit of his writings. The freedom of his opinions, or of his conduct, incurred the notice of the Inquisition: but the interference of Lodovico Gonzaga,

(a) Quadrio enumerates only two editions, *Ven.* 1478, and *Vicenza*, 1481; but besides these, another edition of the fifteenth century, appears in the catalogue of the Pinelli library.

(b) Sabellicus, inviting his poetical contemporaries to celebrate the nativity of the Virgin, addresses himself to Cosmico—

“Nec decantati toties remorentur amores

Te, mihi sed cultam, Cosmice, tende chelyn.”

He is also enumerated by Platina, in his treatise *De honesta Voluptate*, or Art of Cookery, among his temperate friends. Lib. v. cap. i. And Giacomo delle Pellinere, Professor in Medicine and Moral Philosophy at Padua, has apostrophized him in an epistle in terza rima, addressed to Panfilo Sasso—

“Cosmico, dove sei, col soave archetto?”

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not only protected him in this emergency, but has conferred an illustrious testimony on the character of a writer, who is now no longer estimated from his own works. (a)

The attention paid by the family of Este to the promotion of literature, was emulated by that of the Gonzaghi, marquises of Mantua, and the Montefeltri, dukes of Urbino. The intercourse which subsisted between these families, and which was founded on an union of political interests, and confirmed by the ties of consanguinity, gave indeed a common character to their courts. Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, married Isabella of Este, the daughter of Ercole I. duke of Ferrara; and Elizabetta, the sister of the marquis, became the wife of Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, duke of Urbino.

Guidubaldo
da Monte-
feltri, duke
of Urbino.

Federigo, the father of Guidubaldo, had rendered his name illustrious throughout Italy, not only as a distinguished patron of learning, but by his military and political talents. In the rugged situation in which the city of Urbino is placed, he had erected a palace, which was esteemed one of the finest structures in Italy, and had furnished it in the most sumptuous manner, with vases of silver, rich draperies of gold and silk, and other rare and splendid articles. To these he had added an extensive collection of statues and busts, in bronze and marble, and of the most excellent pictures of the times; but the pride of his palace, and the envy

(a) In recommending Cosmico to the favour of his relation, Antonio da Bolza, Lodovico denominates him "Uomo virtuoso, ed existimato per tutta Italia." *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vi. par. ii. p. 225.

of his contemporary princes, was the superb and copious selection of books, in the Greek, Latin, and other languages, with which he had adorned his library, and which he enriched with ornaments of silver and of gold. (a) If, however, the father was an admirer and a protector of literature, the son united to these characters that of a practical and accurate scholar. With the Latin language, we are told, he was as conversant as others are with their native tongue, and so intimate was his knowledge of the Greek, that he was acquainted with its minutest peculiarities, and its most refined elegances. The love of study did not, however, extinguish in the bosom of Guidubaldo, that thirst for military glory, by which his ancestors had been uniformly characterized; and if his health had not been impaired by the gout at an early period of his life, he would probably have acquired, in the commotions which soon after this period disturbed the repose of Italy, a still higher reputation. In his biographers and panegyrists he has been peculiarly fortunate; the learned Pietro Bembo has devoted a considerable tract to the celebration of his merits, (a) and Baldassare Castiglione, in his admirable *Libro del Cortegiano*, has honoured his memory with an eulogium, which will probably be as durable as the Italian language itself. His wife, Elizabetta Gonzaga, is not less the subject of admiration and applause to both these authors; the latter of whom has, in the commencement of his work,

(a) *Castiglione, lib. del Cortegiano, lib. i.*

(b) *P. Bembo de Guido-Ubaldo Feretrio, deque Elisabetha Gonzaga Urbini ducibus, liber.* First printed at Venice, under the inspection of the author, in 1530.

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II.A. D. 1492.
A. Æt. 17.Battista
Mantuanus.

Battista Mantuano may be enumerated among those writers who have had the good fortune to obtain, for a long time, a reputation superior to their merits. (a) The applause which his works excited was not confined to Italy, but extended throughout Europe, where, under the name of *Mantuanus*, or Mantuan, he was considered as another Virgil, whose writings might stand in competition with those of his immortal countryman. Nor can it be denied, that the productions of Battista evince a facility of conception, and a flow of language, which prove him to have been possessed of considerable talents. But in admitting that the native endowments of Battista might bear some comparison with those of his great predecessor, we are compelled to acknowledge, that he was strangely defective in the method of employing his abilities to the best advantage. Of all authors, there are perhaps few, or none, who have been less satisfied with their own productions, than the Roman bard. However we may estimate the powers of his imagination, or the melody of his verse, his taste was still superior to his other accomplishments; and his efforts were

ginning of the third volume of his collection, entitled *Vitæ summorum dignitate et eruditione virorum*.—Coburg, 1738. In the preface, the editor observes, that the poem is written “*elegantiori modo, quam a sua adhuc inculta ætate vix aliquis expectare poterat.*” *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d’ Ital.* ii. 1138. *Tirab.* vi. 2. 230.

(a) It is generally believed that Battista was of illegitimate birth; but the attention paid by his father, Pietro Spagnuolo, to his improvement, enabled him not only to make an early and considerable proficiency in polite literature, but to arrive at the rank of general of his order. Respecting the circumstances of his birth, different opinions have however been entertained, which the reader will find fully stated in the *Menagiana*, vol. i. p. 273.

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unremitting, to arrive at that standard of perfection, which he had conceived in his own mind. (a)

It is well known, that after having bestowed the labour of twelve years on his immortal poem, the conviction which he felt of its imperfections determined him, in his last moments, to order it to be committed to the flames; and it was only by a breach of his solemn testamentary injunction, that this work has been preserved for the admiration of posterity. (b) To the conduct of the ancient poet, that of the modern was an exact reverse; and if they originally started from the same ground, they bent their course in opposite directions. Of the productions of Battista, the earliest are incomparably the best, and as these seem to have gratified his readers, so it is probable they delighted himself. As he advanced in years, he poured out his effusions with increasing facility, until he lost even the power of discriminating the merit of his own productions. From his long poem, *De Calamitatibus temporum*, the historian might hope to select some passages which might elucidate his researches; but in this he will be

(a) “Amici, familiaresque P. Virgilii, dicere eum solitum ferunt, parere se versus more atque ritu ursino. Namque, ut illa bestia foetum ederet ineffigiatum informemque, lambendoque id postea, quod ita edidisset, conformaret et fingeret, proinde ingenii quoque sui partus recentes rudī esse facie et imperfecta: sed deinceps tractando, colendoque, reddere iis se oris et vultus lineamenta.” *Aul. Gel.* lib. xvii. cap. 10.

(b) “Divus Augustus carmina Virgilii cremari contra testamenti ejus verecundiam vetuit; majusque ita vati testimonium contigit, quam si ipse sua carmina probavisset.” *Plin.* lib. vii. cap. 30. P. Crinitus, *De Poetis Latinis*, lib. iii. in *op.* p. 447, has cited a beautiful copy of verses addressed to Augustus on this subject.

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II.A. D. 1492.
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Sforza en-
courages
men of ta-
lents.

disappointed; the adherence of Battista to the track of the ancients, having prevented him from entering into those particulars, which would have rendered his works interesting; (a) whilst the heavy commentary in which they have been enveloped, by Badius Ascenscius, presents them in so formidable an aspect to the modern reader, as fully to account for that neglect, which they have for a long time past experienced.

The tranquillity which had now for some years reigned in Italy, had introduced into that country an abundance, a luxury, and a refinement, almost unexampled in the annals of mankind. Instead of contending for dominion and power, the sovereigns and native princes of that happy region, attempted to rival each other in taste, in splendor, and in elegant accomplishments; and it was considered as essential to their grandeur, to give their household establishments a literary character. Hence their palaces became a kind of polite academy, in which the nobility of both sexes found

(a) Mr. Henke has, however, in a note on this passage (*Germ. Tr.* vol. i. p. 106), pointed out some strongly expressed and earnest denunciations of the corruptions of the Roman church, and particularly of the administration of the pontiffs Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI.

“ Petri domus polluta fluente
Marcescit luxu (nulla hic arcana revelo ;
Non ignota loquor ; liceat vulgata referre ;
Sic urbes populique ferunt, ea fama per omnem
Jam vetus Europam mores extirpat honestos)
Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara cynædis
Servit, honorandæ divum Ganymedibus ædes

—————venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura, preces, cœlum est venale, Deusque.” *

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A. Æt. 17.Lionardo
da Vinci.

a constant exercise for their intellectual talents; and courage, rank, and beauty, did not hesitate to associate with taste, with learning, and with wit. In this respect, the court of Milan was eminently distinguished. By the ostentatious liberality of Lodovico Sforza, who then held, in the name of his nephew Galeazzo, but directed at his own pleasure, the government of that place, several of the most distinguished artists and scholars of the time, were induced to fix their residence there. Among the former of these, the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci deservedly holds the most conspicuous place. This extraordinary man, who united in himself the various qualifications of a painter, a sculptor, a poet, a musician, an architect, and a geometrician, and who in short left untouched very few of those objects which have engaged the attention of the human faculties, was born about the year 1443, at the castle of Vinci in Valdarno. After having given striking indications of superior talents, he for some time availed himself of the instructions of Andrea Verocchio, whom he soon surpassed in such a degree, as to render him dissatisfied with the efforts of his own pencil. His singular productions in every branch of art, had already excited the admiration of all Italy, when he was invited by Lodovico, in the year 1492, to fix his residence at Milan. By his astonishing skill in music, which he performed on a kind of lyre of his own invention, and by his extraordinary facility as an *Improvvisatore*, in the recitation of Italian verse, no less than by his professional talents, he secured the favour of his patron, and the applauses of the Milanese court.

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Lodovico had, however, the judgment to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him by this great artist, to enrich the city of Milan with some of the finest productions of his pencil; and if the abilities of Lionardo were to be estimated by a single effort, his panegyrist might perhaps select his celebrated picture of the Last Supper, in the refectory of the Dominicans, as the most valuable of his works. In this piece it was doubtless the intention of the painter to surpass whatever had before been executed, and to represent not merely the external form and features, but the emotions and passions of the mind, from the highest degree of virtue and beneficence in the character of the Saviour, to the extreme of treachery and guilt in that of Iscariot; whilst the various sensations of affection and veneration, of joy and of sorrow, of hope and of fear, displayed in the countenances and gestures of the disciples, might express their various apprehensions of the mysterious rite. In the midst sits the great founder, dispensing with unshaken firmness, from either hand, the emblems of his own approaching sufferings. The agitation of the disciples is marked by their contrasted attitudes, and various expressions. Treachery and inhumanity seem to be concentrated in the form and features of Judas Iscariot. In representing the countenance of Christ, he found, however, the powers of the artist inadequate to the conceptions of his own mind. To step beyond the limits of earth, and to diffuse over these features a ray of divinity, was his bold, but fruitless attempt. The effort was often renewed, and as often terminated in disappointment and humiliation. Despairing

of success, he disclosed his anxiety to his friend and associate, Bernardo Zenale, who advised him to desist from all further endeavours; in consequence of which, this great work was suffered to remain imperfect. Nor did Lionardo, in acknowledging with Timanthes, the inefficacy of his skill, imitate that artist in the method which he adopted on that occasion. Agamemnon conceals his face in his robe, and the imagination of the spectator is at liberty to supply the defect; but in marking the head of his principal figure by a simple outline, Lionardo openly avows his inability, and leaves us only to regret, either the pusillanimity of the painter, or the impotence of his art. (a)

In a mind devoted to ambition, all other pas-

(a) *Vasari, in vita di Lionardo. Borghini, il Riposo, 368, et seq.* Notwithstanding the assertions of the above authors, and that of M. Mariette in later times, *Lettere sulla Pittura, &c.* vol. ii. let. 84, that Lionardo left the head of Christ in an unfinished state, Richardson assures us, that their information is false, and that such part of the face as yet remains entire, is highly finished, *Traité de la peinture, &c.* vol. iii. The account given by Richardson is, in like manner, accused of being grossly incorrect, by the author of a modern description of Italy, in 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1781. As it can scarcely be imagined, that any of these authors would be guilty of wilful misrepresentation on a subject of such a nature, and in which their testimony would be always exposed to contradiction, may we not reasonably suppose that, according to the united testimony of all the elder writers, the head was left unfinished; but that in the course of the repairs which the picture has undergone, some sacrilegious hand has dared to trace those features, from which the modest genius of Lionardo shrunk in despair? This suggestion appears highly probable from the notes on the *Lettere sulla Pittura, &c.* vol. ii. p. 183. But further information on this subject may be derived from the work of the Cav. Bossi *Sul cenacolo*, the *Mem. for the Life of Lionardo*, by the Cav. Amoretti, and the *Discorso sulla erudizione degli Artisti*, by Count Bossi, the translator of the present work.

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scholars at
the court of
Milan.

sions and pursuits are only considered as auxiliary to its great object; and there is too much reason to suspect, that the apparent solicitude of Lodovico Sforza for the promotion of letters and the arts, was not so much the result of a disposition sincerely interested in their success, as an instrument of his political aggrandizement. That the supplanting the elder branch of his family, and vesting in himself and his descendants, the government of Milan, had long been in his contemplation, cannot be doubted; and it is therefore highly probable that, after ingratiating himself with the populace, and securing the alliance and personal friendship of foreign powers, he would endeavour to strengthen his authority by the favour and support of men of learning, who at this time possessed a more decided influence on the political concerns of the country than at any other period. But by whatever motives Lodovico was actuated, it is allowed, that whilst the state of Milan was under his control, the capital was thronged with celebrated scholars, several of whom adopted it as their permanent residence. On Bernardo Bellincione, a Florentine, he conferred the title of his poet laureat; and in the works of this author, printed at Milan in 1493, are inserted some stanzas which have been attributed to Lodovico himself. Among those who at this period contributed by their talents to give splendor to the court of Milan, were Antonio Cornazzano, (a)

(a) A native of Piacenza, who, having adopted a military life, held a respectable rank under the celebrated Venetian general Bartolommeo Coglioni, of whom he has left a life, written in Latin, and published by Burman; but a great part of his time

Giovanni Filoteo Achillini, (a) Gasparo Visconti, (b) CHAP.
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Benedetto da Cingoli, Vincenzo Calmeta, (c) and

was passed at Milan, where he was highly favoured by the family of Sforza. His works, both in Italian and Latin, in verse and in prose, are very numerous, and his poem *De re Militari*, in nine books, *in terza rima*, has frequently been printed. His sonnets and lyric pieces, are however considered as the most valuable of his works, and are acknowledged by Quadrio to be among the best in the Italian language—"delle migliori che abbia la volgar poesia."—In the latter part of his life he quitted the court of Milan for that of Ferrara, where he terminated his days; having enjoyed the patronage of the duchess Lucrezia Borgia, of whom he makes frequent and honourable mention in his works. *Cornazzano, de re Militari. Ven. 1526. Sonetti e Canz. Ven. 1508. Tiraboschi, vi. par. ii. p. 160.* A. D. 1492.
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(a) Author of an Italian poem *in ottava rima*, entitled, *Il Viridario*, printed at Bologna, 1513, and of several other works. He also distinguished himself by his knowledge of Greek and Latin, his proficiency in music, and his acquaintance with medals, statues, and other monuments of antiquity, of which he had formed a large collection. He died in 1538, at 72 years of age; but his poetry, of which specimens appear in sundry collections, has all the characteristic rusticity of the 15th century, when, says Crescimbeni, "andò spargendo gemme tra'l fango."

(b) A nobleman of Milan, who married Cecilia, the daughter of the celebrated Cecco Simoneta, and died at 38 years of age, in 1499. His sonnets and other verses were published at Milan in 1493, and obtained him such reputation, that he was considered, for a time, as not inferior to Petrarca; but posterity has formed a different judgment. *Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 253.*

(c) Benedetto da Cingoli, and Vincenzo Calmeta, are enumerated by Quadrio, ii. 211, among the poets who at this time honoured the city of Milan by their residence, and whose verses are found in the collections of the times. The works of the former were also collected and published with those of his brother, Gabriello, at Rome, in 1503. *Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 159.* And of the latter Count Bossi has informed us that he possesses a fine MS. of Ovid, *de Arte Amandi*, translated into *terza rima*, and inscribed to Lodovico Sforza, by *Vincenzio Calmeta Collo*; which contains many fine passages, and has never been printed. *Ital. Tran. vol. i. p. 148.*

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Antonio Fregoso. (a) Nor were there wanting distinguished scholars in the graver departments of literature; of which number were Bartolomeo Calchi and Giacopo Antiquario, celebrated not only for their own acquirements, but for their liberality in promoting the improvement of others; (b) Donato Bossi, commemorated both as an eminent professor of law, and an industrious historian; (c) Dionysius Nestor, whose early labours highly contributed to the improvement of the Latin tongue; (d)

(a) Called also *Fulgoso* and *Campofregoso*. From his love of solitude, he also assumed the name of *Phileremo*. His chief residence was at the court of Milan, which he quitted on the expulsion of Lodovico Sforza, and retired to his villa at Colterano. His *Cerva Bianca* is an Italian poem of considerable extent, written with great facility, and occasionally interspersed with beautiful description, and genuine poetry. For his adoption of the *ottava rima* he apologizes by the example of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Agnolo Politiano. This poem has been several times reprinted; particularly at Venice, 1521, 1525. The first of these editions is entitled *Opera nova del magnifico Cavaliere Messer Antonio Phileremo Fregoso, intitulata CERVA BIANCHA*. His *Dialogo di Fortuna*, consists of 18 *capitoli*, in *terza rima*, Ven. 1531. Besides these, he is also the author of another poem, *Il riso di Democrito, e il pianto d' Eracrito*, in 30 *capitoli*; but this work has hitherto eluded my researches.

(b) Respecting Giacopo Antiquario there was published at Perugia, in 1813, by Sig. Vermiglioli, a volume of learned researches, which contains valuable memorials of the literary history of the age, from which Count Bossi has given some additional notices of Antiquario and his friends. *v. Ital. Tr.* vol. i. pp. 149, 257.*

(c) His chronicle of the principal events, from the earliest records to his own times, is of occasional use, particularly with respect to the affairs of Milan. This work was printed at Milan in 1492, by Antonio Zaroti, and is dedicated to the reigning duke Giovan-Galeazzo; not however without great commendations of Lodovico, whose *loyalty* and *fidelity* the author particularly celebrates.

(d) He was a native of Novara, and a descendant of the noble

and Pontico Virunio, deservedly held in great esteem, both as a scholar and a statesman.

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From the commencement of the century, the city of Bologna had endeavoured to maintain its independence against the superior power of the dukes of Milan, and the continual pretensions of the pontifical see. The chiefs of the noble family of Bentivoglio were regarded by their fellow citizens as the patrons and assertors of their liberties, and after various struggles, in which they had frequently been expelled from their native place, they concentrated in themselves the supreme authority, under limitations which secured to the people the exercise of their ancient rights. This authority had now, for nearly half a century, been conceded to Giovanni Bentivoglio, who was only two years of age when his father Annibale was treacherously murdered by the rival faction of the Canedoli, in the year 1445, and who frequently occurs to notice, both in the political and literary annals of the time. The merit of Giovanni, as a

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The Benti-
vogli of Bo-
logna.

family of Avvenada. His vocabulary of the Latin tongue, printed in folio at Milan, in 1483, and afterwards at Venice, 1488, may be considered as one of the first attempts in modern times to facilitate the study of that language, and displays an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, which are diligently cited as authorities throughout the work. To the earliest edition is prefixed a copy of Latin verses addressed to Lodovico Sforza, and towards the close are several poems of the same author, both Italian and Latin. The following colophon concludes the book :

Opus Mediolani impressum per Leonardum Pachel et Uldericum Sinczenceler, de Alemannia Socios, Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXXXIII. pridie nonas Januarias.

The lines to Lodovico Sforza, which celebrate his importance and recount his exploits, from this rare work, are given in the Appendix, No. XX.

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friend and promoter of learning and of art, was however eclipsed by that of his three sons, Hermes, Annibale, and Galeazzo, all of whom are frequently commemorated in the writings of their contemporaries, and particularly in those of Antonio Urceo, usually denominated Codrus Urceus, who by his scientific and critical acquirements, deservedly held a high rank among the scholars of Italy.

Codrus
Urceus.

This author was born at Rubiera, in the year 1446. His appellation of *Codrus* was derived from an incident that occurred to him at the city of Forli, where happening one day to meet with Pino degli Ordelaſſi, then lord of that place, who recommended himself to his favour, "Good heavens!" exclaimed the poet, "the world is in a pretty state when Jupiter recommends himself to Codrus." During his residence at Forli, where he was intrusted with the education of Sinibaldo, the son of Pino, he met with a disaster which had nearly deprived him of his reason. (a) Having incautiously left his study without extinguishing his lamp, his papers took fire, by which many literary productions, which stood high in his own estimation, were destroyed; and particularly a poem entitled *Pastor*. In the first impulse of his passion

(a) Codrus survived both his patron and his pupil, the latter of whom was deprived of his territories by Girolamo Riario, in the year 1480, after his family had possessed them upwards of 150 years; and has devoted the following epitaph to their memory:

"Tertius armorum pacis quoque gloria Pinus
Ordelaſſus, per quem nomina sanguis habet.
Hic nati gremio Sinibaldi continet ossa;
Ossa ducem quinto mense secuta patrem.
Æquus uterque fuit princeps tibi, Livia, post quos
Ordelaſſi ſceptris mox cecidere ſuis."

he vented his rage in the most blasphemous imprecations, and rushing from the city, passed the whole day in a wood in the vicinity, without nutriment. Compelled by hunger to return in the evening, he found the gates closed. When he again obtained admission into the city, he shut himself up in the house of an artificer, where for six months he abandoned himself to melancholy and grief. After a residence of about thirteen years at Forli he was invited to Bologna, where he was appointed professor of grammar and eloquence, and where he passed in great credit the remainder of his days. Of his extraordinary learning it might be considered as a sufficient proof, that Politiano submitted his Greek epigrams, and other writings, to his examination and correction; but his talents and acquirements more fully appear in his own works, which consist of *Sermones*, or essays; of letters to Politiano, Aldo, and others of his learned friends, and of poems on a great variety of subjects; among which the praises of the family of Bentivogli form the most conspicuous part. He died in the year 1500. After his death his productions were collected by the younger Filippo Beroaldo, who had lived with him in friendly intimacy, and published at Bologna in the year 1502, with a preface, in which he highly extols the poetical effusions of his friend. Succeeding critics have however been less indulgent to his fame; Giraldi, whilst he admits that the writings of Codrus are sufficiently correct, denies to them the charm of poetry, and Tiraboschi is of opinion, that neither his prose nor his verse can be recommended as models of elegance. That the poems

CHAP. of Codrus are not entitled to the highest rank
II. among those of his contemporaries, will sufficiently

A. D. 1492. appear from the lines addressed to Galeazzo Benti-
A. Æt. 17. voglio, as an acknowledgment for the honour done to the poet in placing his portrait amongst those of the learned men which Galeazzo had collected. Such a subject was certainly calculated to call forth all his powers, but those efforts which were intended to justify, will perhaps be thought rather to impeach the judgment of his patron. (a)

Petrus
Crinitus.

Among the men of talents who at this period contributed to support the literary character of Italy, it would be unjust to omit Piero Ricci; or, as he denominated himself, according to the custom of the times, *Petrus Crinitus*. This notice of him is the more necessary, as little is to be found respecting him in those works of general information, where he ought to have held a conspicuous rank, and that little is for the most part erroneous. (b) He was descended from the noble and opulent Florentine family of the *Ricci*, (c) and had

(a) As the works of Codrus are not of common occurrence, this piece is given in the Appendix, No. XX.

(b) The notices of Crinitus by Tiraboschi, founded on the equivocal testimony of Jovius and Negri, are peculiarly brief and unsatisfactory.

(c) Jovius, absurdly enough, informs us, that Piero derived his name from the curled locks of his father, *dall' intorta & inanellata capillatura del padre*; but from whatever cause the family appellation might originally arise, it was of much greater antiquity than Jovius supposed. The *Ricci* being called by Negri, *Famiglia antichissima & nobilissima*. The latter author however, with no less absurdity than Jovius, adds, that Crinitus was, on account of his own curled locks (*arriciata bionda sua Capigliera*) called *Pietro di crispa chioma*, which he transformed into the Latin name of *Crinitus*. But it is apparent that this name is only his family appellation latinized.

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the good fortune when young, to avail himself of the instructions, and to obtain the friendship of Politiano. Hence he was introduced into the family of the Medici, and became an associate in those literary and convivial meetings at the palace of the Medici in Florence, or at their different seats in the country, which he has himself occasionally celebrated in his writings. (a) It is not therefore surprising, that on the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he honoured his memory in a Latin ode, which he addressed to Pico of Mirandula; but it is remarkable, that in this production (if indeed it was written at the time to which it relates) he has predicted in forcible terms the approaching calamities of Italy. (b) After this event, Crinitus still continued to enjoy at Florence the society of Pico and of Politiano, till the death of these distinguished scholars, which happened within two months of each other, in the year 1494. (c) It may serve as an instance of the negligence with which literary memoirs are often written, and of the necessity of a more intimate acquaintance with the general history of the times, to notice some of the errors to which the Life of Crinitus has given rise. By one author we are informed, that after the death of Politiano, Crinitus was intrusted by Lorenzo de' Medici with the instruction of his children,

(a) *V. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 140, 4to. ed.

(b) At tu mœsta novis patria lachrymis
Indulge; nec enim cernere adhuc potes
Quantum mox miseris civibus imminet
Fatorum gravis exitus.

Nænia, de obitu Laur. Med. Crin. op. p. 529.

(c) Crinitus has also consecrated a Latin poem to the memory of each of his friends, in *op. pp. 532, 563.*

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and that this example was followed by the principal nobility of Florence, who rejoiced in having obtained such a successor to so accomplished a preceptor. (*a*) If this were true, Crinitus would be entitled to our more particular notice, as one of the early instructors of Leo X. but when we recollect, that at the time of the death of Politiano, Lorenzo had been dead upwards of two years, we are compelled to reject this information as wholly groundless. Another author, who was a contemporary with Crinitus, has however informed us, that at the death of Politiano, Crinitus continued to deliver instructions to the younger branches of the Medici family, and others of the Florentine nobility; (*b*) forgetting that the Medici were, about the time of the death of Politiano, expelled from Florence, and became fugitives in different parts of Italy, where they could not avail themselves of the precepts of Crinitus, and where indeed they had other occupations than the studies of literature. It is therefore more probable that Crinitus, after this period, quitted his native place, and took an active part in the commotions which soon afterwards occurred; as he frequently refers in his writings to the labours and misfortunes which he has sustained, and avows his determination to

(*a*) “ Quel gran Mecenate de’ virtuosi, Lorenzo de’ Medici, non dubitò confidare alla di lui direzione nelle lettere i suoi figliuoli, dopo la morte del Poliziano; e fu seguitato il di lui esempio da tutta la nobile gioventù, che lo godè successore d’un sì valente maestro.” *Negri, Scrittori Fiorent.* p. 462.

(*b*) “ Morto il Politiano, meritò (Crinito) d’essere in grado di compagno, e di precettore appresso quei giovani *de’ Medici*, & d’altri nobili, che davano opera alle buone lettere.” *Giovio, Iscritt.* p. 106.

return to his literary studies. (a) That he passed some part of his time at Naples may be presumed, not only from his intimacy with Bernardo Caraffa, Tomaso Fusco, and other Neapolitan scholars, but from the particular interest which he appears to have taken on behalf of the house of Aragon, and the vehemence with which he inveighs against the French in his writings. In this respect his opinions were directly opposed to those of his friend Marullus, who openly espoused the cause of Charles VIII. It may also be conjectured that he passed a part of his time at Ferrara, where having, by accident, fallen into the Po, and escaped with safety, he addressed an ode of gratitude to the river. (b) We are informed by Negri, that Crinitus died about the close of the fifteenth century, at the age of thirty-nine years; (c) but his writings refer to many events beyond that period; and his dedication of his treatise *De Poetis Latinis*, to Cosmo de' Pazzi, then bishop of Arezzo, and afterwards archbishop of Florence, nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, is dated in the year 1505, which period, it is however probable, he did not long survive. We are also informed that his death was occasioned by the irregularity of his conduct and the licentiousness of his friends, one of whom, in the frolics of a convivial entertainment, at the villa of Pietro Martelli, poured over him a vessel of water, with the disgrace of which he was so greatly affected, that he died in a few days. (d) Not to in-

(a) *De sua quiete post multas calamitates.* Crin. op. p. 531.

(b) *Carmen Charisticon, ad Eridanum fluvium, pro recepta salute, cum in eum decidisset.* op. Crin. p. 543.

(c) Negri, *Scrittori Fiorent.* p. 462.

(d) Negri, *ubi sup.* *Giovio Iscritt.* 106.

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sist merely on the improbability of such a narrative, a sufficient proof that the life of Crinitus was not terminated by any sudden accident, appears in his beautiful and pathetic Latin ode on his long sickness and approaching death, from which we find, that he had struggled with a tiresome feverish indisposition, which had baffled the skill of his physicians, and in which he resigns himself to his untimely fate ; at the same time asserting his claim to the esteem of posterity from the integrity of his life and conduct. (a) From the same piece we also learn, that he intended to have written a poem on the descent of the French into Italy, but this, with many other works was left unfinished. After the death of Politiano, Crinitus assisted his friend Alessandro Sarti, in collecting the works of that great scholar, for the edition printed by Aldo Manuzio, in 1498. The principal work of Crinitus *De Honestâ Disciplina*, as well as his treatise on the Latin poets before-mentioned, demonstrates the extent of his learning and the accuracy of his critical taste, (b) and in these respects is not unworthy the disciple of his great preceptor. (c) His poetry, all

(a) This poem of Crinitus is given in the Appendix, No. XXI.

(b) He was the first who pointed out the mistake of the learned respecting the supposititious elegies of Cornelius Gallus ; a subject which has given rise to great diversity of opinion. v. *Menagiana*, tom. i. p. 336.

(c) A few letters of Crinitus appear in the works of Politiano, *Ep.* lib. xii. and in those of Giovanni Francesco Pico of Mirandula, p. 839. Andreas Dactius has commemorated him in the following epitaph :

“ Heus audi, properes licet viator,
 Criniti, tumulo teguntur isto,
 Dilecti cinerés sacris camœnis.
 Hoc scires volui. Recede felix.”

of which is in the Latin language, is also entitled to commendation, and will occasionally be adduced in the following pages, as illustrating the public transactions of the times in which he lived. (a)

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II.

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It may not be improper to close this general view of the state of literature in Italy, in the year 1492, with some account of a person, whose incalculable services to the cause of sound learning, present

(a) On this passage Count Bossi has found occasion to remark, that notwithstanding the notice I have taken of the state of literature, and its professors in Italy, at the close of the fifteenth century, I have omitted many distinguished names, even of those who have figured upon the *political* theatre of the times ; an omission which he has undertaken in some degree to supply, by citing the names of a number of literary characters as not being particularly noticed in my work. *v. Ital. Tran.* vol. i. p. 260, vol. xii. p. 211. For this attention my best acknowledgments are due ; but at the same time, I must be permitted to remark, that as I had only proposed to write the Life of an individual, and not a general history of literature, I did not conceive myself justified in entering into that subject further than was necessary to shew the literary state and character of the age, at the time that Leo X., then the cardinal de' Medici, first began to take an active part in it ; and in which I fear it will be thought I have rather exceeded, than fallen short of the object I had in view. As to the rest, I may observe, that some of the persons mentioned by Count Bossi *are* noticed in my work ; that others are omitted, because they belong to a former period, and had been particularly distinguished in my Life of Lorenzo de' Medici ; and that if these two classes were deducted, the remainder would be reduced to a small amount ; amongst which, however, are some which might justly claim a place in the records of literature, and which demonstrate the intimate acquaintance of Count Bossi with this subject. I shall only add, that the precious manuscript which Count Bossi mentions, containing a collection of Italian poets of the fifteenth century, by *Felice Feliciano*, in which are found the works of several authors not mentioned by Tiraboschi, and which MS. formerly belonged to Count Bossi, now forms a part of the MS. library of Mr. Coke at Holkham. *

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themselves to our notice at every step, and the productions of whose skill are at every moment in the hands of the historian of this period. This can only be referred to the eminent printer Aldo Manuzio, to whom the world is indebted, not only for the works of many of the ancient authors, which he either first discovered, or first published in a correct form, but for those of many of his contemporaries, which without his unparalleled industry would not have been preserved to the present day. At this precise time he was making preparations for his laudable purpose, and had determined to devote his learning, his resources, his industry, and his life, to the service of literature. But before we advert to the measures which he adopted for this great and commendable end, it cannot be thought uninteresting briefly to commemorate the previous events of his life.

Aldo Manuzio.

Aldo Manuzio was born about the year 1447, at Bassiano, a village within the Roman territory, whence he styles himself *Aldus Manutius Bassianus*; but more frequently *Aldus Romanus*. (a) Maittaire justly observes, that it was a fortunate circumstance, that the birth of so skilful an artist should have happened at the very time when the art itself was first meditated. Respecting his education, he has himself informed us, that he lost a great part of his time in acquiring the principles of Latin grammar by the rules of Alessandro de Villadei, (b) the book then commonly used in the

(a) In the scarce edition of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*, of Varino Camerti, printed by Aldo in 1496, he styles himself *Aldus Manutius Bassianus Romanus*.

(b) This grammarian lived in the early part of the thirteenth

schools, but this disadvantage was soon afterwards compensated by the instructions which he obtained in the Latin tongue, from Gasparo Veronese at Rome, and in both Latin and Greek, from Battista Guarino, who then resided at Ferrara, at which place Aldo also took up his abode. (a) Under such tutors, the proficiency of such a scholar was rapid, and at an early age Aldo became himself an instructor, having been entrusted with the education of Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, who was nearly of his own age. (b) With this young nobleman he contracted a friendship which proved throughout his life of the greatest service to him, and which was afterwards manifested by his disci-

century. His work is written in barbarous Latin verse, which the pupils were compelled to repeat by memory. Manni has given, from a MS. copy in his own possession, a specimen of this pedantic, but once celebrated production, which thus commences :

“Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis
Pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum,
Jamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani
Quæ veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris,” &c.

Manni, vita di Aldo, p. 7, ed. Ven. 1759.

(a) *Aldi Manutii præf. ad Theocritum, &c. Ven. 1495.*

(b) The subsequent commotions of Italy, in which Alberto acted an important part, have probably deprived the world of the fruits of his literary studies. Such at least is the inference which arises from the following passage, in the dedication to him of the Aldine edition of Lucretius, at the time when he was engaged as the Imperial envoy at the court of Rome: “Deus perdat pernicioſa hæc bella, quæ te perturbant, quæ te tamdiu avertunt a sacris studiis literarum; nec sinunt ut quiete, et, quod semper cupivisti atque optasti, fruaris otio, ad eas artes, quibus a puero deditus fuisti, celebrandas; jam aliquem fructum dedisses studiorum tuorum utilem sane et nobis et posteris: qua te privari re, ita moleste fers, ut nullam aliam ob causam, credendum sit, nuper te Romæ tam gravi morbo laborasse, ut de salute tua et timerent boni omnes et angerentur.”

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with Alberto Pio, lord
of Carpi,
and Pico of
Mirandola.

ple conceding to him the honourable privilege of using his family name, whence Aldus has often denominated himself *Aldus Pius Manutius*. In the year 1482, when the safety of Ferrara was threatened by the formidable attack of the Venetians, Aldo retreated to Mirandola, (a) where he contracted a strict intimacy with the celebrated Giovanni Pico. His intercourse with these two men of distinguished rank and learning continued with uninterrupted esteem, and Alberto had expressed an intention of investing him with the government of a part of his territory of Carpi; but this project was relinquished for one which proved more honourable to Aldo and more useful to mankind. In the friendly interviews which took place among these individuals, the idea was gradually formed of the great undertaking which Aldo was destined to carry into effect, and in which, as it has been with probability conjectured, he was to have the support and pecuniary assistance of his two illustrious friends.

Motives of
Aldo for un-
dertaking
to print and
publish the
works of the
ancients.

Of the liberal motives by which Aldo was actuated, he has left to posterity abundant evidence. "The necessity of Greek literature is now," says he, "universally acknowledged, insomuch, that not only our youth endeavour to acquire it, but it is studied even by those advanced in years. We read but of one Cato among the Romans who studied Greek in his old age, but in our times we have many Catos, and the number of our youth, who apply themselves to the study of Greek, is almost as great as of those who study the Latin tongue; so that Greek books, of which there are but few in

(a) *Aldi Ep. in Ep. Polit. lib. vii.*

existence, are now eagerly sought after. But by the assistance of Jesus Christ, I hope ere long to supply this deficiency, although it can only be accomplished by great labour, inconvenience, and loss of time. Those who cultivate letters must be supplied with books necessary for their purpose, and till this supply be obtained I shall not be at rest." (a)

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But although the publication of the Greek authors appears to have been his favourite object, and always occupied a great part of his attention, yet he extended his labours to other languages, and to every department of learning. The place which he chose for his establishment was Venice, already the most distinguished city in Italy for the attention paid to the art, and where it was most probable that he might meet with those materials and assistants which were necessary for his purpose. (b) In making the preparations requisite for commencing his work, he was indefatigable; (c) but the more

Establishes
his press at
Venice, and
founds an
academy
there.

(a) v. *Aldi Epist. Aristoteli Organo* 1495, *præfixam*; et *Maittaire, Annal.* i. 69. His magnanimity and public spirit appear also from many other passages in his own writings.

(b) If this city has not produced many authors of the first eminence, it has compensated the world by multiplying and perpetuating the works of others. Yet Venice is not without its panegyrists: thus Battista Mantuanus—

“Semper apud Venetos studium sapientiæ et omnis
In pretio doctrina fuit; superavit Athenas
Ingeniis, rebus gestis, Lacedæmona et Argos.”

(c) Maittaire conjectures, that he was employed in these preparations four or five years; but from the preface of Aldus to the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ* of Varino Camerti, printed in 1496, it appears that he had been occupied in this undertaking from the year 1489: “Postquam suscepi hanc duram provinciam (annus enim agitur jam septimus) possem jurejurando affirmare, tot annos ne horam quidem solidæ habuisse quietis.”

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particular object of his wishes was the discovery of some method, by which he might give to his publications a greater degree of correctness than had been attained by any preceding artist. To this end he invited to his assistance a great number of distinguished scholars, whom he prevailed upon by his own influence and that of his friends, or the stipulation of a liberal reward, to take up their residence at Venice. That he might attach them still more to the place and to each other, he proposed the establishment of a literary association, or academy, the chief object of which was to collate the works of the ancient authors, with a view to their publication in as perfect a manner as possible. Of this academy Marcus Musurus, Pietro Bembo, Angelo Gabrielli, Andrea Navagero, Daniello Rinieri, Marino Sanuto, Benedetto Ramberti, Battista Egnazio, and Giambattista Ramusio, were the principal ornaments, and will be entitled to our future notice. For the more effectual establishment of this institution, it was his earnest wish to have obtained an Imperial diploma; but in this respect he was disappointed; and the Venetian academy, which ought to have been an object of national or universal munificence, was left to depend upon the industry and bounty of a private individual, under whose auspices it subsisted during many years in great credit, and effected, in a very considerable degree, the beneficial purposes which its founder had in view.

Progress
and success
of his un-
dertaking.

Such were the motives, and such the preparations for this great undertaking; but its execution surpassed all the expectations that its most sanguine promoters could have formed of it. The

first work produced from the Aldine press, was the poem of Hero and Leander, of Musæus, in the year 1494; (a) from which time, for the space of upwards of twenty years, during which Aldo continued his labours, there is scarcely an ancient author, Greek or Latin, of whom he did not give a copious edition, besides publishing a considerable number of books in the Italian tongue. In the acquisition of the most authentic copies of the ancient authors, whether manuscript or printed, he spared neither labour nor expense; and such was the opinion entertained of his talents and assiduity by the celebrated Erasmus, who occasionally assisted him in revising the ancient writers, that he has endeavoured to do justice to his merits, by asserting in his *Adagia*, “that if some tutelary deity had promoted the views of Aldo, the learned world would shortly have been in possession, not only of all the Greek and Latin authors, but even of the Hebrew and Chaldaic; insomuch, that nothing could have been wanting, in this respect, to their wishes. That it was an enterprise of royal munificence to re-establish polite letters, then almost extinct; to discover what was hidden; to supply what was wanting; and correct what was defective.” By the same eminent scholar we are also assured, that whilst Aldo promoted the interests of the learned, the learned gave him in return their best assistance, and that even the Hungarians and the Poles sent their works to his press, and accompanied them by liberal pre-

(a) This work is not marked by the date of the year in which it was printed, and Manni seems to doubt its claim to priority; but Maittaire had before sufficiently shewn that this opinion was well founded. *Annal. Typ.* i. 70.

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sents. How these great objects could be accomplished by the efforts of an individual, will appear extraordinary; especially when it is considered, that Aldo was a professed teacher of the Greek language in Venice; that he diligently attended the meetings of the academy, that he maintained a frequent correspondence with the learned in all countries; that the prefaces and dedications of the books which he published were often of his own composition; that the works themselves were occasionally illustrated by his criticisms and observations, and that he sometimes printed his own works; an instance of which appears in his Latin grammar, published in the year 1507. (a) The solution of this difficulty, may however in some degree be obtained, by perusing the inscription placed by Aldo over the door of his study, in which he requests his visitors to despatch their business with him, as expeditiously as possible, and begone; unless they come, as Hercules came to Atlas, with a view of rendering assistance; in which case there would be sufficient

(a) Mr. Henke (in *Germ. Tr.* vol. i. p. 127.) has expressed an opinion, that in estimating the merits of Aldo, I have permitted my partiality for him to prevail over justice, and have reckoned too little upon the great encouragement he received from many rich and liberal patrons of literature, and particularly from the pontiffs, Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. That Aldo could have accomplished his great object without the assistance of many eminent men and distinguished scholars, it would be absurd to suppose; but it is precisely in this respect that his merits are most apparent. In establishing his press, and forming his academy at Venice, he drew together almost all that was liberal and learned in Italy, and thereby effected an object to the accomplishment of which his own personal exertions would have been totally inadequate. This circumstance, therefore, instead of detracting from, may be considered as the crown of his merits.*

employment, both for them, and as many others
as might repair thither.

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QUISQUIS ES, ROGAT TE ALDUS ETIAM ATQUE ETIAM,
UT SIQUID EST QUOD A SE VELIS, PERPAUCIS AGAS,
DEINDE ACTUTUM ABEAS; NISI, TAMQUAM HERCULES,
DEFESSO ATLANTE, VENERIS SUPPOSITURUS HUMEROS;
SEMPER ENIM ERIT QUOD ET TU AGAS,
ET QUOTQUOT
HUC ATTULERINT PEDES.

CHAP. III.

1492—1494.

THE cardinal de' Medici returns to Florence—Death of Innocent VIII.—Election of Alexander VI.—Ambitious views of Lodovico Sforza—He invites Charles VIII. into Italy—League between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians—Observations on the respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon—Charles accommodates his differences with other states—Negotiates with the Florentines—Alexander VI. remonstrates with him on his attempt—The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his expedition—Prepares for his defence—Alfonso II. succeeds to the crown of Naples—Prepares for war—Views and conduct of the smaller states of Italy—Charles VIII. engages Italian stipendiaries—Unsuccessful attempt of the Neapolitans against Genoa—Ferdinand duke of Calabria opposes the French in Romagna—Charles crosses the Alps—His interview with Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan—Hesitates respecting the prosecution of his enterprize—Piero de' Medici surrenders to Charles VIII. the fortresses of Tuscany—The cardinal de' Medici with his brothers Piero and Giuliano expelled the city—Pisa asserts its liberties—Retreat of the duke of Calabria before d'Aubigny—Charles VIII. enters Florence—Intends to restore Piero de' Medici—Commutations in Florence and treaty with Charles VIII.—Charles enters the territories of the Church—The states of Italy exhorted by a contemporary writer to oppose the progress of the French.

CHAPTER III.

SCARCELY had the cardinal de' Medici gone through the ceremonies of his admission into the consistory, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, which happened on the eighth day of April, 1492. His sensations on this occasion are strongly expressed in his letters to his brother Piero; (a) but not satisfied with epistolary condolence and advice, he prepared to pay a visit to Florence, for the purpose of supporting, by his presence, the credit and authority of the Medici in that city. In order to give him additional importance on this occasion, the pope appointed him legate of the patrimony of St. Peter, and of the Tuscan state. (b) Before his arrival, the magistrates and council had, however, passed a decree, by which they had continued to Piero all the honours which his late father had enjoyed. The general disposition of the inhabitants was indeed so highly favourable to the Medici, that the authority of Piero seemed to be established on as sure a foundation as that of any of his ancestors, with the additional stability which length of time always gives to public opinion.

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The Cardinal de' Medici returns to Florence.

(a) *v. Life of Lor. de' Med.* vol. ii. p. 247, 4to. ed. *Appendix*, No. 80. Another letter written soon after this event, and hitherto unpublished, is given in the *Appendix* to this volume, No. XXII.

(b) *Fabronii, Vita Leon. X.* p. 13, adnot. 10, and *v. Appendix*, No. XXIII.

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During the residence of the cardinal at Florence, he distinguished himself amongst his fellow-citizens, not only by the decorum and gravity of his conduct as an ecclesiastic, but by his munificence to those numerous and eminent scholars, whom the death of his father had deprived of their chief protector. To his favour, Marsilio Ficino was indebted for the respectable rank of a canon of Florence. His liberality was yet more particularly shewn to Demetrius Chalcondyles, from whom he had formerly received instruction, and to whom he afforded pecuniary assistance, not only for his own purposes, but for the promotion of his numerous offspring. In these, and similar instances, his conduct corresponded with the sentiments professed by him, in the assertion which he made, that the greatest alleviation which he could experience of his recent loss, would be to have it in his power to promote the interest of those men of learning, who had been the peculiar objects of the affection and regard of his father. (a) In the mean time the health of the pope was rapidly declining, and the cardinal received information, which induced him to hasten with all possible expedition towards Rome. On this occasion the magistrates of Florence directed their general, Paolo Orisno, to accompany him to that city, with a body of horse; but before his arrival there, he received intelligence of the death of the pontiff, which happened on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1492.

Death of
Innocent
VIII.

If the character of Innocent were to be impartially weighed, the balance would incline, but with

(a) *Fabronii, Vita Leon. X. p. 14.*

no very rapid motion, to the favourable side. His native disposition seems to have been mild and placable; but the disputed claims of the Roman see, which he conceived it to be his duty to enforce, led him into embarrassments, from which he was with difficulty extricated, and which, without increasing his reputation, destroyed his repose. He had some pretensions to munificence, and may be ranked with those pontiffs to whom Rome is indebted for her more modern ornaments. One of the faults with which he stands charged, is his unjust distribution of the treasures of the church among the children who had been born to him during his secular life; (a) but even in this respect his bounty was restrained within moderate limits. Instead of raising his eldest son, Francesco Cibò, to an invidious equality with the hereditary princes of Italy, he conferred on him the more substantial, and less dangerous benefits of great private wealth; and although to these he had added the small domains of Anguillara and Cervetri, yet Francesco, soon after the death of his father, divested himself of these possessions for an equivalent in money, and took up his abode at Florence, among the kinsmen of his wife, Madalena de' Medici.

On the death of the pope, his body was carried

(a) These children were, however, illegitimate, as appears from the evidence of Burchard, who denominates Francesco Cibò—“Filius Papæ, etiam bastardus, prout Domina Theodorina.” *Burchard. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi*, i. 93. Nor was incontinency the only crime of this pontiff, if we may judge from the epigram of Marullus.

“Spurcities, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia deses,
Hoc, Octave, jacent quo tegeris, tumulto.”

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to the church of St. Peter, attended by the cardinal de' Medici, and four others of equal rank. His obsequies were performed on the fifth day of August, and on the following day the cardinals entered the conclave, amidst the tumults of the people, who, as usual on such occasions, abandoned themselves to every species of outrage and licentiousness. (a) The chief contest appeared to subsist between Ascanio Sforza, whose superior rank and powerful family-connexions gave him great credit, and Roderigo Borgia, who counterbalanced the influence of his opponent, by his long experience, deep dissimulation, and the riches amassed from the many lucrative offices which he had enjoyed. With such art did he employ these advantages, that Ascanio himself, seduced by the blandishments and promises of Roderigo, not only relinquished his own pretensions, but became the most earnest advocate for the success of his late opponent. So openly was this scandalous traffic carried on, that Roderigo sent four mules laden with silver to Ascanio, and presented to another cardinal a sum of five thousand gold crowns, as an earnest of what he was afterwards to receive. (b) On this occasion, the cardinal de' Medici had attached himself to the cardinals Francesco Piccolomini, (afterwards Pius III.) and Oliviero Caraffa, men of great integrity and respectability, but who were induced to relax in their opposition to the

(a) " Per Roma scorrevano a schiera i ladroni, gli omicidarii, i banditi, ed ogni pessima sorte d'uomini; ed i palazzi de' cardinali havevano le guardie di schioppettieri, e delle bombarde, perchè non fossero saccheggiate." *Conclavi de' Pontef. Rom.* vol. i. p. 133.

(b) *Burchard Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi*, i. 101.

election of Roderigo, by the exertions of Ascanio Sforza. (a) Of twenty cardinals who entered the conclave, we are informed there were only five who did not sell their votes. (b)

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On the eleventh day of August, 1492, Roderigo, having assumed the name of Alexander VI. made his entrance, as supreme pontiff, into the church of St. Peter. The ceremonies and processions on this occasion exceeded in pomp and expense all that modern Rome had before witnessed; and whilst the new pontiff passed through the triumphal arches erected to his honour, he might have read the inscriptions which augured the return of the golden age, and hailed him as a conqueror and a god. (c) These pageants being terminated, Alexander underwent the final test of his qualifications, which, in his particular instance, might have been

Election of
Alexander
VI.

(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. X. p. 15.*

(b) *Burch. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi, i. 101.*

(c) Of these, the following may serve as a sufficient specimen:

“Cæsare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima, Sextus
Regnat Alexander; ille vir, iste deus.”

“Alexandro invictissimo, Alexandro pientissimo, Alexandro magnificentissimo, Alexandro in omnibus maximo, honor et gratia.”

“Scit venisse suum, patria grata, Jovem.”

Other instances of preposterous adulation may be found in Corio, *Storia di Milano*, par. vii. p. 888, &c. If, however, all the enormities recorded of him be true, one of the Roman poets of antiquity would have furnished him with a much more appropriate motto:

“Attulerat secum liquidi quoque monstra veneni,
Oris Cerberei spumas, et virus Echidnæ,
Erroresque vagos, cæcæque obliviam mentis,
Et scelus, et lachrymas, rabiemque, et cædis amorem,
Omnia trita simul.” *Ovid. Met. lib. iv. v. 499.*

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dispensed with, (a) and being then admitted into the plenitude of power, he bestowed his pontifical benediction on the people. "He entered on his office," says a contemporary historian, "with the meekness of an ox, but he administered it with the fierceness of a lion." (b)

The intelligence of this event being dispersed through Italy, where the character of Roderigo Borgia was well known, a general dissatisfaction took place, and Ferdinand of Naples, who in his reputation for sagacity stood the highest among the sovereigns of Europe, is said to have declared to his queen with tears, from which feminine expression of his feelings he was wont to abstain, even on the death of his children, that the election of this pontiff would be destructive to the repose, not only of Italy, but of the whole republic of Christendom: "a prognostic," says Guicciardini, "not unworthy of the prudence of Ferdinand; for in Alexander VI. were united a singular degree of prudence and sagacity, a sound understanding, a wonderful power of persuasion, and an incredible perseverance, vigilance, and dexterity, in whatever he undertook. But these good qualities were more than counterbalanced by his vices. In his manners he was most shameless; wholly divested of sincerity, of decency, and of truth; without fidelity, without religion; in his avarice, immoderate; in

(a) "Finalmente, essendo fornite le solite solennità in *Sancta Sanctorum*, e domesticamente toccatogli i testicoli, e data la benedizione, ritornò al palagio." Corio, *Storia di Milano*, par. vii. p. 890. Respecting the origin of this custom, v. *Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, p. 149, note (b).

(b) "Entrò nel Pontificato Alessandro vi. mansueto come bue, e l'ha amministrato come leone." Corio, *ut sup.* p. 890.

his ambition, insatiable; in his cruelty more than barbarous; with a most ardent desire of exalting his numerous children, by whatever means it might be accomplished; some of whom (that depraved instruments might not be wanting for depraved purposes) were not less detestable than their father." (a) Such in the opinion of this eminent historian, was the man, whom the sacred college had chosen to be the supreme head of the Christian Church.

The elevation of Alexander VI. was the signal of flight to such of the cardinals as had opposed his election. Giuliano della Rovere, who to a martial spirit united a personal hatred of Alexander, insomuch that in one of their quarrels the dispute had terminated with blows, thought it prudent to consult his safety by retiring to Ostia, of which place he was bishop. Here he fortified himself as for a siege, alleging, that he could not trust *the traitor*, by which appellation he had been accustomed to distinguish his ancient adversary. (b) The cardinal Giovanni Colonna sought a refuge in the island of Sicily; and the cardinal de' Medici, equally inimical, but less obnoxious to Alexander, retired to Florence; where he remained till the approaching calamities of his family compelled him to seek a shelter elsewhere. (c)

No sooner was the new pontiff firmly seated in the chair of St. Peter, than those jealousies, intrigues, and disputes, among the potentates of

Ambitious
views of
Lodovico
Sforza.

(a) *Guicciardin. Storia d' Ital. lib. i.*

(b) *Muratori Annali d' Italia, vol. ix. p. 566.*

(c) *Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 64.*

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Italy, which had for some time past almost ceased to agitate that country, began again to revive, and prepared the way, not only for a long series of bloodshed and misery, but for events which overturned in a great degree the political fabric of Italy, and materially affected the rest of Europe. During the minority of his nephew, Gian-Galeazzo, Lodovico Sforza had possessed the entire direction of the government of Milan, as guardian and representative of the young prince. (a) Gratified by the exercise of the supreme authority, he looked forwards with vexation and with dread, to the time when he was to relinquish his trust into the hands of his rightful sovereign; and having at length silenced the voice of conscience, and extinguished the sense of duty, he began to adopt such measures as he thought most likely to deprive his nephew of his dominions, and vest the sovereignty in himself. For this purpose he entrusted the command of the fortresses and strong holds of the country to such persons only, as he knew were devoted to his interests. The revenue of the state, which was then very considerable, (b) became in his hands the means of corrupting the soldiery and their leaders. All honours, offices, and favours, depended upon his will; and so completely had he concentrated in himself the power and resources of the

(a) From the ancient chronicle of Donato Bossi, printed at Milan, 1492, it appears, that the Milanese government at this time included the cities and districts of Milan, Cremona, Parma, Pavia, Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Bobbio, Savona, Albingano, Vintimiglia, and the whole territory of the Genoese.

(b) Corio states the ducal revenue at this period, at 600,000 ducats. *Storia di Milano*, lib. vii. p. 883.

state, that, if we may give credit to an historian of those times, the young duke and his consort Isabella, the daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, were nearly deprived of the common necessities of life. (a) With all these precautions the authority of Lodovico was yet insecure, and the final success of his purpose doubtful. The hereditary right of Gian-Galeazzo to his dominions, was unimpeachable, and he was now of age to take upon himself the supreme authority. (b) His wife Isabella of Aragon, was a woman of a firm and independent spirit, and by her he had already several children. (c) Under these circumstances it was scarcely to be supposed, that Lodovico could divest his nephew of the government without incurring the

(a) “Ed in tal forma fu ristretta la corte Ducale, che a fatica Giovanni Galeazzo, ed Isabella sua moglie, potevano havere il vitto loro.” *Corio, Storia di Milano*, lib. vii. p. 883.

(b) It appears, however, from Summonte, that Lodovico had pretended a legal right to the sovereignty, on the plea, that Galeazzo, the father of the young duke, was born before the time that his father Francesco had obtained the dominion of Milan; whereas Lodovico was the eldest son born after that acquisition, and consequently, as he asserted, entitled to the succession. *Summonte, Storia di Napoli*, vol. iii. p. 497. It is however remarkable, that Donato Bossi, in his chronicle, printed in 1492, and dedicated to Gian-Galeazzo, expressly commends the fidelity and loyalty of Lodovico to his sovereign.—“Opus autem ipsum annaliū, circa quod jam ultra tria lustra versatus sum, tibi Joanni Galeazio Sfortiæ, Vicecomiti, penes quem, hominum divorumque consensus, justissimique principis patrui tui Ludovici fides et probitas, Mediolanensis principatūs, reliquarumque excelsarum urbium, regimen esse voluit, dedico et dono.”

(c) “La dicte fille,” says Commynes, speaking of Isabella, “estoit fort courageuse, et eüst volontiers donné credit à son mari, si elle eüst pu; mais il n'estoit guères sage, et réveloit ce qu'elle lui disoit.” *Mem. de Com.* liv. vii. p. 188, ed. Lyons, 1559.

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resentment of the princes of the house of Aragon, who might probably also excite the other states of Italy to avenge the cause of an injured sovereign. That these apprehensions were not without foundation, he had already received a decisive proof. The degraded state to which Isabella and her husband were reduced, had compelled her to represent by letter to her father Alfonso, their dangers and their sufferings, in consequence of which, a formal embassy had been despatched from the king of Naples to Lodovico, to prevail upon him to relinquish the supreme authority into the hands of his lawful prince. (a) This measure, instead of answering the intended purpose, served only to demonstrate to Lodovico the dangers which he had to apprehend, and the necessity of forming such alliances as might enable him to repel any hostile attempt.

In turning his eye for this purpose towards the other states of Italy, there was no place which he regarded with more anxiety than the city of Florence ; not only an account of the situation of its territory, which might open the way to a direct attack upon him, but from the suspicions which he already entertained, that Piero de' Medici had been induced to unite his interests with those of the family of Aragon, in preference to the house of Sforza ; a suspicion not indeed without foundation, and which some circumstances that occurred at this period amply confirmed.

On the elevation of Alexander VI. it had been determined to despatch an embassy from Florence to congratulate the new pontiff. As a similar mark

(a) *Corio, Storia di Milan.* lib. vii. p. 883, where the letter from Isabella to her father is given.

of respect to the pope was adopted by all the states of Italy, it was proposed by Lodovico Sforza, that in order to demonstrate the intimate union and friendship which then subsisted among them, the different ambassadors should all make their public entry into Rome, and pay their adoration to the pope on the same day. This proposition was universally agreed to ; but Piero de' Medici, who had been nominated as one of the Florentine envoys, proud of his superior rank, which he conceived would be degraded by his appearing amidst an assembly of delegates, and perhaps desirous of displaying in the eyes of the Roman people an extraordinary degree of splendor, for which he had made great preparations, felt a repugnance to comply with the general determination. Unwilling, however, to oppose the project openly, he applied to the king of Naples, requesting him, if possible, to prevent its execution, by alleging that it would rather tend to disturb than to confirm the repose of Italy, and to introduce disputes respecting precedence which might eventually excite jealousy and resentment. The means by which this opposition was effected, could not however be concealed from the vigilance of Lodovico, to whom it seemed to impute some degree of blame, in having originally proposed the measure ; while it served to convince him, that a secret intercourse subsisted between Ferdinand and Piero de' Medici, which might prove highly dangerous to his designs.

This event was shortly afterwards followed by another, more clearly evincing this connexion. It had long been the policy of the Neapolitan sovereigns, always fearful of the pretensions of the ho-

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ly see, to maintain a powerful interest among the Roman nobility. On the death of Innocent VIII. his son, Francesco Cibò, preferring the life of a Florentine citizen, with competence and security, to that of a petty sovereign, without a sufficient force to defend his possessions, sold the states of Anguillara and Cervetri, to Virginio Orsino, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, and an avowed partisan of Ferdinand of Naples, at whose instance the negotiation was concluded, and who furnished Virginio with the money necessary to effect the purchase. As this measure was adopted without the concurrence of the pope, and evidently tended to diminish his authority, even in the papal state, he not only poured forth the bitterest invectives against all those who had been privy to the transaction, but pretended, that by such alienation, the possessions of Francesco had devolved to the holy see.^(a) Nor was Lodovico Sforza less irritated than the pope, by this open avowal of confidence between Piero de' Medici and the king of Naples, although he concealed the real motives of his disapprobation under the plausible pretext, that such an alliance formed too preponderating a power for the safety of the rest of Italy.

Lodovico
Sforza
determines
to invite
Charles
VIII. into
Italy.

In endeavouring to secure himself from the perils which he saw, or imagined, in this alliance, Lodovico was induced by his restless genius, to adopt the desperate remedy of inviting Charles VIII. of France, to make a descent upon Italy, for the purpose of enforcing his claim, as representative of the house of Anjou, to the sovereignty of Naples; an attempt, which Lodovico conjectured, would, if

(a) *Guicciardin. Storia d' Italia*, lib. i.

crowned with success, for ever secure him from those apprehensions, of which he could not divest himself, whilst the family of Aragon continued to occupy the throne of their ancestors.

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III.

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With this view, Lodovico, in the early part of the year 1493, despatched the count di Belgioioso, as his confidential envoy to France; but as the interference of the French monarch was regarded by him only as a resource in case of necessity, he did not in the mean time neglect any opportunity of attaching to his interests the different sovereigns of Italy. His endeavours were more particularly exerted to effect a closer union with the pope, who, besides the public cause of offence which he had received from the king of Naples, was yet more strongly actuated by the feelings of wounded pride, and of personal resentment. From the time of his elevation to the pontificate, the aggrandizement of his family became the leading motive of his conduct; and very soon afterwards he had ventured to propose a treaty of marriage between his youngest son, Geoffroi, and Sancia of Aragon, a natural daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, with whom he expected his son would obtain a rich territory in the kingdom of Naples. Alfonso, who abhorred the pontiff, and whose pride was probably wounded by the proposal of such an alliance, found means to raise such obstacles against it, as wholly frustrated the views of the pope. The common causes of resentment which Lodovico Sforza and the pontiff entertained against the family of Aragon, were mutually communicated to each other by means of the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had been promoted by Alexander to

League between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians.

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the important office of vice-chancellor of the holy see ; and on the twenty-first day of April, 1493, (a) a league was concluded between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians, the latter of whom had been induced by the solicitations of Lodovico Sforza, to concur in this measure. By this treaty, which gave a new aspect to the affairs of Italy, the parties engaged for the joint defence of their dominions. The pope was also to have the assistance of his colleagues in obtaining possession of the territories and fortresses occupied by Virginio Orsino. But although the formalities were expedited in the name of Gian-Galeazzo, the rightful sovereign of Milan, yet an article was introduced for maintaining the authority of Lodovico as chief director of the state.

The Florentines and the king of Naples unite their interests.

As these proceedings could be regarded by the family of Aragon in no other light than as preliminaries to direct hostilities, they excited great apprehensions in the mind of Ferdinand, who was well aware how little cause he had to rely on the assistance of his nobility and powerful feudatories, in resisting any hostile attack. The direct consequences of this league were, however, such as to induce a closer union between the family of Aragon and the state of Florence ; in consequence of which, Piero de' Medici, as the chief of that republic, no longer hesitated to avow his connexions with Ferdinand. In the first impulse of resentment, it was proposed between Piero, and Alfonso, duke of Calabria, that they should join with Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, in a design formed by the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the avowed

(a) *Guicciardin.* lib. i. p. 11. *Murat.* vol. ix. p. 568.

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adversary of Alexander, for attacking the city of Rome; an enterprize to which the sanction of the Orsini, with whom Piero de' Medici possessed great influence, would, in all probability, have given decisive success. In this daring attempt, Ferdinand, however, refused to concur; judging it expedient rather to sooth the resentment, and perhaps, in some degree, to gratify the wishes of his adversaries, than to involve himself in a contest, the result of which he could not contemplate without the most alarming apprehensions. On this account he not only determined to withdraw his opposition to the pope, respecting the possessions of Virginio Orsino, but found means to renew the treaty for an alliance between his own family and that of the pontiff. To these propositions Alexander listened with eagerness, and the marriage between Geoffroi Borgia and Sancia of Aragon was finally agreed upon; although, on account of the youth of the parties, a subsequent period was appointed for its consummation. (a)

No sooner was the intelligence of this new alliance, and the defection of the pope, communicated to Lodovico Sforza, than his fears for the continuance of his usurped authority increased to the most alarming degree, and he determined to hasten, as much as possible, the negotiation in which he was already engaged, for inducing Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples. This young monarch, the only son of Louis XI. had succeeded, on the death of his father in 1483, to the crown of France, when only twelve years of age. Although

Charles resolves to undertake the conquest of Naples.

(a) This treaty was concluded on the 12th day of June, 1493. *Murat. An. ix. 569.*

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destined to the accomplishment of great undertakings, he did not derive from nature the characteristics of a hero, either in the endowments of his body, or in the qualities of his mind. His stature was low, his person ill-proportioned, his countenance pallid, his head large, his limbs slender, and his feet of so uncommon a breadth, that it was asserted he had more than the usual number of toes. His constitution was so infirm as to render him, in the general opinion, wholly unfit for hardships and military fatigues. His mind was as weak as his body; he had been educated in ignorance, debarred from the commerce of mankind, and on some occasions he manifested a degree of pusillanimity which almost exceeds belief. (a) With all these defects, both natural and acquired, Charles was not destitute of ambition; but it was the ambition of an impotent mind, which, dazzled by the splendor of its object, sees neither the dangers that attend its acquisition, nor the consequences of its attainment. On a character so constituted, the artful representations of Lodovico Sforza were well calculated to produce their full effect; but as the prospect of success opened upon Charles, his views became more enlarged, till at length he began to consider the acquisition of Naples, as only

(a) Commynes gives us to understand, that Charles was not displeased at the death of his son, at three years of age, because he was, “*bel enfant, audacieux en parole, et ne craignoit point les choses que les autres enfans sont accoutumés à craindre,*” and the king it seems was therefore afraid, that if the child lived, he might diminish his consequence, or endanger his authority; “*car le roi ne fut jamais que petit homme de corps, et peu étendu; mais étoit si bon, qu’il ne’st pas possible de voir meilleure creature.*” *Mem. de Com. lib. viii. p. 248.*

an intermediate step to the overthrow of the Turks, and the restoration in his own person, of the high dignity of emperor of the east. This idea, which acted at the same time on the pride and on the superstition of the king, Lodovico encouraged to the utmost of his power. In order to give greater importance to his solicitations, he despatched to Paris a splendid embassy of the chief nobility of Milan, at the head of which he placed his former envoy, the count di Belgioioso. With great assiduity and personal address, this nobleman instigated the king to this important enterprize, assuring him of the prompt and effectual aid of Lodovico Sforza, and the favour or neutrality of the other states of Italy; and representing to him the inefficient resources of Ferdinand of Naples, and the odium with which both he and his son Alfonso were regarded by the principal barons of the realm; a truth which was confirmed to Charles by the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, who had sought, in the court of France, a refuge from the resentment of Ferdinand. These solicitations produced the effect which Lodovico intended, and Charles not only engaged in the attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, but, to the surprise of all his courtiers, he determined to lead his army in person. (a)

The respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon upon the crown of Naples, were, in the estimation of sound sense and enlightened policy, equally devoid of foundation. In all countries, the supreme authority has been supposed to

Claims of
the houses of
Anjou and
Aragon to
the crown
of Naples.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. i. Murat. *Annali*, ix. *passim*. Corio, *Storia di Milano*, par. vii. p. 890, &c.

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be rightfully vested only in those who claim it by hereditary descent, or by the consenting voice of the people; but with respect to the kingdom of Naples, each of the contending parties founded its pretensions on a donation of the sovereignty to their respective ancestors. The origin of these contentions is to be traced to a remote assumption of the holy see, by which it was asserted, that the kingdom of Naples was held by its sovereigns as a fief of the church, and in certain cases, on which the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the right of deciding, reverted to its actual disposal. That dominion, which the sovereign had received as the gift of another, it was supposed that he could himself transfer by his voluntary act; the consent of the church being all that was necessary to render such transfer valid; and to this pernicious and absurd idea, we are to trace all the calamities which destroyed for several centuries the repose of Italy, and rendered it, on various occasions, the theatre of massacre, of rapine, and of blood. (a)

To balance against each other pretensions which are equally unsubstantial on any principle of sound policy, or even of acknowledged and positive law, may seem superfluous. If long prescription can be presumed to justify that which commenced in violence and in fraud, the title of the house of Anjou may be allowed to have been confirmed by a pos-

(a) Should the reader wish for more particular information respecting the claims of the contending parties to the crown of Naples, he may peruse with great advantage the acute and learned observations of Mr. Gibbon on this subject, published in the second volume of his miscellaneous works, under the title of *Critical researches concerning the title of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples.*

session of nearly two centuries, in which the reins of government had been held by several monarchs who had preserved the rights and secured the happiness of their subjects. On the expulsion of Renato, in 1442, by Alfonso of Aragon, the family of Anjou were divested of their dominions; and by several successive bequests, which would scarcely have had sufficient authenticity to transfer a private inheritance from one individual to another, in any country in Europe, the rights of the exiled sovereigns became vested in Louis XI. from whom they had descended to his son Charles VIII. The title of Ferdinand was, on the other hand, open to formidable objections; the illegitimacy and usurpation of his ancestor Manfredo, the deduction of his rights by the female line, the long acquiescence of his family, and the circumstances of his own birth, afforded plausible pretexts for the measures adopted against him; but it must be remembered, that the same power which had conferred the kingdom on the family of Anjou, had on another occasion bestowed it on Alfonso, the father of Ferdinand; and the paramount authority of the Roman see, to which both parties alternately resorted, must in the discussion of their respective claims, be considered as decisive. Alfonso on his death had given it to his son, who, whether capable or not of hereditary succession, might receive a donation, which had been transferred for ages with as little ceremony as a piece of domestic furniture; and if a nation is ever to enjoy repose, Ferdinand might, at this time, be presumed to be, both *de jure* and *de facto*, king of Naples.

In the discussion of questions of this nature, there

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is, however, one circumstance which seems not to have been sufficiently attended to, either by the parties themselves, or those who have examined their claims, and which may explain the mutability of the Neapolitan government better than an appeal to hereditary rights, papal endowments, or feudal customs. The object of dominion is not the bare territory of a country, but the command of the men who possess that country. These, it ought to be recollected, are intelligent beings, capable of being rendered happy or miserable by the virtues or the vices of a sovereign, and acting, if not always under the influence of sober reason, with an impulse resulting from the nature of the situation in which they are placed. Whilst the prince, therefore, retains the affections of his people; whilst he calls forth their energies without rendering them ferocious, and secures their repose without debasing their character; the defects of his title to the sovereignty will disappear in the splendor of his virtues. But when he relinquishes the sceptre of the king for the scourge of the tyrant, and the ties of attachment are loosened by reiterated instances of rapacity, cruelty, and oppression, the road to innovation is already prepared; the approach of an enemy is no longer considered as a misfortune, but as a deliverance; the dry discussion of abstract rights gives way to more imperious considerations; and the adoption of a new sovereign is not so much the result of versatility, of cowardice, or of treachery, as of that invincible necessity, by which the human race are impelled to relieve themselves from intolerable calamities.

The resolution adopted by Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, was no sooner known in France, than it gave rise to great diversity of opinion among the barons and principal counsellors of the realm; many of whom, as well as his nearest relations, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, by representing to him the impolicy of quitting his own dominions, the dangers to which he must infallibly expose himself, and, above all, the depressed state of his finances, which were totally inadequate to the preparation of so great an armament. They reminded him of the prudent conduct of his father, who was always averse to the measure which he now proposed to take, and unwilling to involve himself in the intricate web of Italian politics; of the long established authority of Ferdinand of Naples, confirmed by his late triumphs over his refractory nobles, and of the high military reputation of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, whose expulsion of the Turks from Otranto, in the year 1481, had ranked him amongst the greatest generals of the age. The die was however cast; the measure of prosperity in Italy was full; and instead of listening to the remonstrances of his friends, Charles bent his mind on the most speedy means of carrying his purpose into execution. The grandeur of the object called forth energies which none of his courtiers supposed that he possessed. The ardor of the king communicated itself to the populace, whose favour was still farther secured, by representing the conquest of Naples as only the preliminary step to that of the capital of the Turkish empire, and to the diffusion of the Catholic faith

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throughout the eastern world. An ignorant people are never so courageous, or rather so ferocious, as when they conceive themselves to be contending in the cause of religion. Charles had the artifice to avail himself of this propensity, and to represent his expedition as undertaken to fulfil a particular call from heaven, manifested by ancient prophecies, which had promised him, not only the empire of Constantinople, but also the kingdom of Jerusalem. (a) From all parts of his dominions, his subjects of every rank voluntarily presented themselves to share his honours, or to partake his dangers; and, including some bands of mercenaries, he found himself in a short time at the head of an army, the numbers of which have been very differently estimated, but at the time of his departure, it could not, in its different detachments, have consisted of less than fifty thousand men.

Before Charles could, however, engage with any reasonable degree of safety in his intended

(a) This expedition was the subject of several publications in France, some of which are cited by M. Foncemagne, in his *Eclaircissemens historiques sur quelques Circonstances du Voyage de Charles VIII. en Italie. v. Mem. de l'Academie des Inscrit. tom. xvii. p. 539.* In one of these, entitled *La prophetie du roy Charles huitieme de ce nom, par maitre Guilloche de Bourdeaux*, is the following passage :

“ Il fera de si grants batailles
Qu'il subjuguera les Ytaïles.
Ce fait, d'ilec il s'en ira
Et passera dela la mer.
—Entrera puis dedans la Grece,
Ou, par sa vaillant prouesse,
Sera nommé le roi des Grecs ;
En Jerusalem entrerà,
Et mont Olivet montera.” &c.

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his differences with
Ferdinand
of Spain.

expedition, some important difficulties yet remained to be overcome. The countenance, or the acquiescence of the principal sovereigns of Europe, was indispensably necessary; but although he was on terms of amity with the king of England (Henry VII.) he was involved in quarrels with Ferdinand of Spain, and with Maximilian, king of the Romans. The former of these monarchs, having had occasion to borrow a sum of one hundred thousand ducats, had proposed to Louis XI. that on his advancing the money, its repayment should be secured by the possession of the counties of Perpignan and Roussillon, which were accordingly surrendered to him; but when, some years afterwards, Ferdinand offered to return the money, Louis, being unwilling to relinquish a district which adjoined his own dominions, refused to perform the stipulations of the agreement. This undisguised instance of perfidy gave occasion to complaints and remonstrances on the part of Ferdinand, to which neither Louis nor his successor had hitherto paid the least regard. But no sooner had Charles determined on his expedition into Italy, than he proposed to restore these provinces to Ferdinand, in such a manner as seemed most likely to secure his future favour. By an embassy despatched for this purpose, he represented to the Spanish monarch, that whilst the crown of France had been attacked on all sides by powerful enemies, and compelled to defend itself at the same time against the late emperor Frederic, the king of England, and the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, both he and his father had retained these provinces, notwithstand-

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ing the threats and remonstrances of the court of Spain; but that having now repulsed or conciliated all his enemies, and having nothing to apprehend from any hostile attack, he had resolved to restore these contested territories, without any other compensation than the friendship and alliance of Ferdinand. The restitution accordingly took place, and was soon followed by a treaty between the two sovereigns, in which Ferdinand solemnly engaged, that he would not interfere in the concerns of Naples, notwithstanding the near degree of relationship which subsisted between him and the sovereign of that kingdom and his family, to whom he was connected by the ties of both consanguinity and affinity.^(a) Charles did not, however, consider this treaty, which had been concluded with the ambassadors of Ferdinand at Lyons, as an effectual security for his neutrality; for he soon afterwards despatched his envoys to Madrid, who required and obtained the personal and solemn oath, not only of Ferdinand himself, but of his queen Isabella, and their son John, prince of Castile, then of mature age, to the same effect.

And with
the emperor
elect Maxi-
milian.

The disagreement between Charles and Maximilian, king of the Romans, was of a much more delicate nature. During the life of his father, Charles had been betrothed to Margareta, the daughter of Maximilian, who was accordingly sent to France whilst an infant, to be educated among her future subjects; but when the time

(a) The two sovereigns were brothers' children, and Ferdinand of Naples had married, for his second wife, Joanna, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain.

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approached that the nuptial ceremony should have taken place, circumstances occurred which induced Charles to change his intentions, and to disregard his engagements. Francis, duke of Bretagne, who then held his rich and extensive domains as an independent prince, finding himself at open war with the French monarch, had been led, by the hopes of a powerful alliance, to engage his daughter Anna in marriage to Maximilian. After the death of the duke, Charles persevered in his hostilities, and notwithstanding the interference of Henry VII. of England, who sent a body of troops to the relief of the young duchess, the greater part of her territories was occupied by the French troops, and the duchess herself, besieged in her capital of Rennes, was at length obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the conqueror. The youth and beauty of the duchess, and the important advantages which Charles foresaw from the union of her dominions with his own, induced him, notwithstanding his engagements with Margaretta of Austria, to make her proposals of marriage, and her consent being with some difficulty obtained, the nuptials were accordingly carried into immediate effect. Nor can it be denied, that this union, politically considered, was highly judicious; as it secured to Charles the command of a country naturally formed to be governed with his own, and at the same time, prevented the powerful family of Austria from establishing itself in the vicinity of the French dominions. (a) But with respect to Maximilian, the

(a) *Mémoire sur le mariage de Charles Dauphin, &c.* inserted in the collection of *Du Mont*, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 404. *Bacon. Hist. Hen.*

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conduct of Charles included two indignities of the most unpardonable nature: the repudiating his innocent daughter, and the depriving him of his betrothed wife. Maximilian was not, however, prepared for hostile measures; and the animosity to which these events gave rise, soon became a matter of negotiation, in which Lodovico Sforza interposed his good offices. In the month of June, 1493, a treaty was concluded between the two sovereigns, by which it was agreed, that Margaretta should be restored to her father, with her intended dowry, and that Charles should be released from his contract. (a) The disappointment of Maximilian, Lodovico alleviated by recommending to him his niece, Bianca Maria, whom Maximilian soon afterwards took to wife; whilst his daughter Margaretta found a husband in John, prince of Castile, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy; after whose death, in 1497, she married Filiberto, duke of Savoy.

Negotiates
with the
Florentines
for their as-
sistance,

Nor did Charles VIII. in preparing for his Neapolitan expedition, implicitly rely upon the representations of Lodovico Sforza, with respect to the disposition of the other states of Italy. On the contrary, he despatched his emissaries, with directions to obtain, if not the assurance of their assistance, at least the knowledge of their intentions. The principal argument on which he relied for conciliating their favour, was the avowal

Hen. VII. The events above related gave rise to many singular discussions, of which some account may be found in the Appendix, No. XXIV.

(a) *Corio, Storia di Milan.* par. vii. p. 898.

of his determination to attempt the recovery of Constantinople, and the duty imposed upon all Christendom to assist him in so magnanimous and pious an enterprize. In order to obtain greater credit to these assertions, he assumed the titles of king of Sicily and Jerusalem. His chief endeavours were, however, employed to prevail upon the Florentines and the pope to withdraw themselves from their alliance with Ferdinand. The answer which he obtained from the former, was equivocal and unsatisfactory. Whilst they assured the king, in private, of their good wishes, they excused themselves from a public avowal of them, lest they should incur the resentment of Ferdinand of Naples, who, by turning his arms against the Tuscan territory, might render it the seat of the war. Such were the sentiments of the Florentine government, as sanctioned by Piero de' Medici; but the intelligence of the intentions of the French monarch was received with inconceivable joy, by a considerable number of the most powerful inhabitants of Florence, who were hostile to the views of Piero, and conceived that, in the commotions likely to arise from such a contest, they should find an opportunity of divesting him of his authority. Among these, the most distinguished by their wealth and rank were Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, and grandsons of the elder Lorenzo, the brother of Cosmo, *Pater Patriæ*. These young men, jealous of the superior authority of Piero and his brothers in the affairs of Florence, had endeavoured, by their liberality and affability, and above all, by avowing a decided attachment

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to the liberties of the people, to establish themselves in the favour of the public; in which attempt they had not been wholly unsuccessful. From them and their friends, the envoys of Charles received a secret assurance, that if he would persevere in his intentions, they would not only promote his views to the utmost of their power, but would also undertake to supply him with a large sum of money, towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. The conduct of the two brothers was, however, regarded with a suspicious eye. They had already shewn a decided partiality to the French king; and certain information having been obtained of a secret correspondence with him, their persons were seized upon by the orders of Piero de' Medici, who has been accused of having entertained private causes of resentment against them, and of wishing to avail himself of this opportunity of gratifying his enmity, by depriving them of their lives. (a) Their misconduct was, however, apparent; and, after a long discussion, and the interference of many powerful friends, they were ordered, by a

(a) Nardi gives us reason to believe that there were very sufficient grounds for the proceedings against the two brothers, which he adverts to, as having fallen within his own knowledge many years afterwards, "Ma havendo io saputo, dopo molti anni, per qualche altra via, che poi il detto Giovanni de' Medici era stato honorato del titolo del Maestro di Hostello, cioè Maestro di Casa, del Re di Francia, Carlo VIII. non però per alcuna altra instante cagione, che per haver proccacciato, forse in tempo troppo alieno, la gratia del Re di Francia, allora inimico della città, ho potuto facilmente credere, che da questo fosse proceduta la suspitione e diffidentia, e consequentemente l'odio che in questo fatto si dimostrò a questi duoi fratelli." *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 10.*

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lenient sentence, to remain at their villas in the vicinity of Florence; but they soon broke the conditions imposed on them, and fled to France, where, by their personal interference, they encouraged the king to persevere in his claims.

Dismisses
their am-
bassadors in
displeasure.

In order to palliate these proceedings to the French king, and to conciliate, if possible, his indulgence and favour, Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, and Piero Soderini, afterwards Gonfaloniere for life, were despatched as ambassadors of the republic to France. (a) They found the king in the city of Thoulouse, where, being admitted to an interview, they entreated him not to press the citizens of Florence to take an immediate and decided part in the approaching contest, and represented to him the dangers which they must inevitably incur by such a measure. They artfully extolled the greatness of his name, the extent of his dominions, and the numbers and courage of his troops; but they also suggested to him, that he was separated from Italy by the formidable barrier of the Alps, and that, whilst he was hastening to the protection of the Florentines, they might fall a sacrifice to the merited resentment of Ferdinand of Naples. At the same time they assured him, that as soon as he should have surmounted these obstacles, and made his appearance in Italy, he should find them disposed to render him every assistance in their power. The purport of this discourse was too obvious to escape the animadversion of Charles, whose indignation it excited to such a degree, that he not only drove the ambassadors from his presence, but threatened instantly to seize upon

(a) *Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine*, iii. 190.

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the property of all the Florentines within his realm, and to expel them from his dominions : and although he was prevented, by his advisers, from carrying this purpose into execution, he ordered that the agents of Piero de' Medici should instantly be sent from the city of Lyons, where the family had carried on the business of bankers for a long course of years ; thereby clearly manifesting, from what quarter he conceived the opposition to arise. (a)

Alexander
VI. remon-
strates with
him on his
attempt.

For the purpose of ascertaining the views of Alexander VI. Charles had despatched a second embassy to Rome, at the head of which was his general and confidential friend D'Aubigny. The success of this mission was highly desirable to him ; as its principal object was to obtain from Alexander by promises on the one hand, or by threats on the other, the formal investiture of the kingdom of Naples. If, as it has been asserted by many historians, Alexander had before concurred in inciting the king to this undertaking, he did not scruple, on the present occasion, to change his sentiments ; and his reply was not favourable to the hopes of Charles. He entreated him to remember, that the kingdom of Naples had been three times conceded by the holy see to the family of Aragon, the investiture of Ferdinand having expressly included that of his son Alfonso ; that these adjudications could not be rendered void, unless it appeared judicially that Charles had a superior right, which could not be affected by these acts of investiture, in which there was an express reservation, that they should not prejudice the rights of any person ;

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. i. 1. 32.*

that the dominion of Naples being under the immediate protection of the holy see, the pontiff could not persuade himself that his most Christian majesty would so openly oppose himself to the church, as to hazard, without its concurrence, a hostile attack on that kingdom; that it would be more consistent with his known moderation and dignity, to assert his pretensions in a civil form; in which case Alexander, as the sole judge of the right, declared himself ready to enter upon the discussion of the claims of the respective parties. These remonstrances he afterwards more fully enforced in an apostolic brief, in which he exhorted the French monarch to unite his arms with those of the other sovereigns of Europe, against the common enemies of Christendom, and to submit his claims on the kingdom of Naples to the decision of a pacific judicature. (a) Instead of altering

(a) Although Guicciardini, Rucellai, and other contemporary authors, expressly assert that Charles VIII. was incited by Alexander VI. to attempt the conquest of Naples, in which they have been implicitly followed by subsequent writers, I have not ventured to adopt their representations in my narrative; I. Because Commynes, who has related, at great length, the motives by which Charles VIII. was induced to this undertaking, adverts not, in the most distant manner, to any invitation from the pope on that subject; on the contrary, he attributes the determination of the king solely to the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, and informs us, that he sent Perron de Basche as his ambassador to Rome, apparently to try the disposition of the pontiff, whom he erroneously names Innocent. *v. Mémoires*, liv. vii. chap. 2. II. In the letter from Lodovico Sforza to Charles VIII. as given by Corio, p. 891, the pope is not even mentioned, although several other sovereigns are specified as being favourable to the intended enterprize. III. In the apostolic brief issued by Alexander, and inserted by the same author in his History, we discover no reason to infer that the pope had, at any previous time, entertained a different opinion from

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couraged by
the duke of
Ferrara.

the purpose, these admonitions only excited the resentment of the king, who, in return, avowed his determination to expel Alexander from the pontifical throne. (a)

The answers obtained by the envoys of the king, from the duke of Savoy, the republic of Venice, and other governments of Italy, expressed in general terms their great respect for the French monarch, and their reluctance to engage in so dangerous a contest; but the duke of Ferrara, although he had married a daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples, actuated, as has been supposed, by the hope of availing himself of the aid of the French against his powerful enemies the Venetians, did not hesitate to encourage the French monarch, in

that which he there professes, and which is decidedly adverse to the interference of the king in the concerns of Italy. Guicciardini, actuated perhaps by his abhorrence of Alexander VI. has not discussed this subject with his usual accuracy; and the reader finds it difficult to discover, even in his copious narrative, the real predisposing causes of an enterprize, which gave rise to all the important events recorded in his History. I am sorry to have occasion to apply a similar remark to a celebrated modern historian, the Cavaliere Rosmini, who in his *Life of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio* has adverted to Alexander VI. as having concurred in calling Charles VIII. into Italy, and afterwards refused him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, (*v. Istoria di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. p. 234,) forgetting that he had before stated, that Alexander had used all his efforts to induce Lodovico Sforza to unite with him and the king of Naples in opposing the French, and had cited a decisive original document to that effect, *v. Istoria, &c.* vol. i. p. 201. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 193, and *Ital. Tr. Hist. of Leo X.* vol. ii. p. 180, where Count Bossi has given the documents which demonstrate that the pope was adverse to bringing the French into Italy.

(a) *Benedetti, Fatto d'arme del Tarro, tradotto da Domenichi*, p. 5, ed. Ven. 1545.

the most open manner, to persevere in his claims. (a) CHAP.
III.

The negotiations and precautions resorted to by Charles, preparatory to his Italian expedition, were such as a wise adviser would have suggested, and a prudent commander would not fail to adopt. He was also assiduous in collecting those necessary supplies of warlike stores, ammunition, and artillery of various kinds, the use of which had then been lately introduced, and on which he chiefly relied for the success of his undertaking. (b) Yet, if

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Indecision
of Charles
VIII.

(a) Respecting the conduct of the duke of Ferrara on this occasion, some discordance of opinion appears among the historians of Italy. Muratori asserts, that he exerted his efforts to dissuade Lodovico Sforza from his imprudent design of inviting the French into Italy. "Fu adoperato Ercole duca di Ferrara, per rimuovere Lodovico dalla pazza sua risoluzione di tirar l'armi Franzesi in Italia, nè egli omise ufficio alcuno per ottener l'intento," &c. *Annali*, ix. 569. But Guicciardini, on the contrary, informs us, that Ercole abetted the enterprize, and assigns his motives for it at length. In deciding between these eminent historians, of whom the one was a contemporary, and the other has in general drawn his information from the documents of the times, it becomes necessary to resort to further evidence. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, expressly asserts, that Charles was invited into Italy by Lodovico Sforza, *Ercole duke of Ferrara*, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Lorenzo (the son of Pier-Francesco) de' Medici; assigning as a reason for it (which strongly confirms the idea that Alexander VI. was uniformly hostile to the measure) that the aversion in which the pope was held by some of the cardinals, induced them to wish for a change in the pontificate, *v. p. 5*. And from the *History of Ferrara*, by Sardi, it appears, that Ercole accompanied Lodovico Sforza to meet the king at Alexandria. "Passò Carlo in Italia," says he, "incontrato dal Moro, e dal duca Ercole, in Alessandria." *Sardi, Hist. Ferr. lib. x. p. 194*. From all which, it may be clearly inferred, that the duke of Ferrara took an active part in bringing the French into Italy.

(b) Count Bossi, in his *Ital. Tr.* vol. i. p. 204, has observed, that it could scarcely be said, that in the year 1493, the use of artillery was a recent invention; it having been known at a period

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we may believe a writer who himself acted no unimportant part in the transactions of the times, the conduct of the French monarch was a series of obstinacy, folly, and indecision. (a) "The king," says he, "had neither money nor talents for such an enterprise; the success of which can only be attributed to the grace of God, who shewed his power most manifestly on this occasion." And again, "The king was very young, weak in body, obstinate, surrounded by few persons of prudence or experience; money he had none, insomuch, that before his departure he was obliged to borrow one hundred thousand francs from a banker at Genoa, at an enormous interest, as well as to resort to other places for assistance. He had neither tent nor pavilion, and in this state he began his march into Lombardy. One thing only seemed favourable to him; he had a gallant company, consisting chiefly of young gentlemen, though with little discipline. This expedition must therefore have been the work of God, both in going and returning; for the understanding of its conductors could render it very little service, although it must be acknowledged that it has terminated in the acquisition of no small share of honour and glory to their master." (b) Even at the moment of departure, al-

prior to the writings of Petrarca, and consequently before the year 1330; for which he cites the authority of the Cav. Venturini, *Storia dell' origine, e de' primi progressi delle moderne artiglierie*. Milan, 1816, 4to.*

(a) *Mémoires de Commynes*, liv. vii. chap. 4, p. 192.

(b) It appears from Giustiniani, *Annali di Genoa*, p. 249, that the Genoese banker was Antonio Sauli, who first advanced to the king 70,000 ducats, and afterwards 25,000 more, at Rome. If we may judge of the supposed risk of loss, by the rate of interest,

though the king was unceasingly pressed by the envoys of Lodovico Sforza, he displayed a strong disinclination to commence his journey: and as he fluctuated according to the advice of his counselors, he changed his purpose from day to day. At length he determined to set forwards on his expedition; "but even then," says Commynes, "when I had begun my journey I was sent back, and told that the attempt was relinquished." (a) How then shall we reconcile the external demonstrations of perseverance, prudence, and magnanimity, to which we have before adverted, with these internal marks of imbecility and weakness of mind? In truth, the history of mankind is susceptible of being represented under very different aspects; and whilst one narrator informs us of the ostensible conduct of sovereigns and their agents on the public stage of life, another intrudes himself behind the curtain, and discovers to us by what paltry contrivances the wires are played, and by what contemptible causes those effects, which we so highly admire, are in fact produced.

Whilst preparations were thus making by Charles for his intended expedition, the sagacious mind of Ferdinand of Naples had maturely compared the probable impulse of the attack, with the known practicability of resistance, and the result of his deliberations was such as to occasion to him

The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his expedition.

it was regarded as a hazardous adventure; such interest being no less than cent. per cent.—"à gros interest pour cent de foire en foire." *Commynes*, liv. vii. proem, p. 184.

(a) "A la fin le Roy se delibera de partir; et montay à cheval des premiers, esperant passer les monts en moindre compagnie. Toutefois je fûs remandé, disant que tout étoit rompu." *Mém. de Com.* liv. vii. chap. 4, p. 193.

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no small share of anxiety. He well knew, that the arms of the French king were not only superior to any force which he, with his utmost exertions, could oppose to them, but in all probability to that of all the Italian states united. On his allies he could place no firm reliance ; and if he did not suspect their duplicity, or dread their inconstancy, he could only expect them to act as circumstances might prescribe ; or in other words, to attach themselves to the conquering party. From his relative, the king of Spain, he could hope for no assistance, for he had solemnly disavowed and abjured his cause ; and if he resorted to the aid of his own subjects, he only saw, on every hand, the indications of tumult and rebellion, the natural consequences of a severity, which had alienated the affections of his barons, and reduced his people to servitude. Under these circumstances, he resolved to try whether it might not yet be possible by prudent negotiation and timely submission, to avert the dangers with which he was threatened ; and in this respect he proposed to avail himself of the interference of Carlotta, the daughter of his second son Federigo, who was related to Charles by consanguinity, and had been educated in his court. (a) He also despatched, as his ambassador, Camillo Pandone, who had formerly been his representative in France, with offers to Charles of a considerable annual tribute, if he would relinquish his enterprise : but the humiliation of Ferdinand rather excited the hopes, than averted the purpose, of his adversary ; and his ambassador was remand-

(a) Federigo of Aragon married Anna, daughter of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was brother of Carlotta, queen of Louis XI.

ed without a public hearing. In his applications to Lodovico Sforza, although he met with an exterior civility, he was, in fact, equally unsuccessful; nor could he, indeed, reasonably hope for any satisfactory engagement with that ever-variable politician, who, in weaving the web for the destruction of others, was at length entangled in it himself.

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Nor was Ferdinand, whilst he was thus endeavouring to avert, by negotiation, the dangers with which he was threatened, remiss in collecting together such a force as his own states afforded for his defence. A fleet of about forty galleys was speedily prepared for action; and by great exertions and expense, a body of troops was collected, which, including the various descriptions of soldiery, amounted to about seven thousand men. But whilst Ferdinand was thus endeavouring to secure himself from the approaching storm, he found a more effectual shelter from its violence in a sudden death, hastened, perhaps, by the joint effects of vexation and fatigue, on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1494, when he had nearly attained the seventy-first year of his age. (a)

Prepares for
his defence.

Death of
Ferdinand.

(a) Burcardo, who made a journey to Naples, soon after the death of the king, relates, that Ferdinand, having found himself indisposed at his villa of Trapergola, returned to Naples, where, in dismounting from his horse, he fell senseless, and died on the following day, without either confession or sacraments. His confessor cried out to him, in vain, to repent of his sins and his opposition to the church, for he gave not the slightest symptom of contrition. *Burcard. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi*, 1. 108. Bernardino Rota has honoured his memory by the following lines:

“ Fernandus fueram, felicis conditor ævi,
Qui pater heu patriæ, qui decus orbis eram;

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succeeds to
the crown
of Naples.

The stipulations entered into between Ferdinand and Alexander VI. had, however, for the present, effectually secured the favour of the pontiff, which on this occasion, was of the greatest importance to Alfonso, the son and successor of Ferdinand, who found no difficulty in obtaining the bull of investiture. He was accordingly crowned, with great pomp, at Naples, on the seventh day of May, 1494, by Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pope, and cardinal of Monreale, who was sent from Rome to perform the ceremony. Immediately after his accession to the crown, Alfonso appointed the celebrated Pontano his chief secretary; nor, if we may judge from the commendations bestowed on him by the Neapolitan scholars, was this the only instance in which he shewed his respect for literature. (*a*)

Quem timuere duces, reges coluere, brevis nunc
Urna habet; humanis i modo fide bonis."

Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. viii. 156.

(*a*) To this period we may refer the beautiful Latin verses of Sanazzaro, which celebrate the life and actions of Alfonso, and advert to many circumstances either not noticed, or imperfectly related by the historians of the times. *v. Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. el. 1.* His accession to the crown is also commemorated by Cariteo, in a Canzone, which the reader will find in the Appendix, No. XXV. wherein he particularly refers to the meditated invasion of Naples by the arms of the French; to which circumstance he also alludes in other parts of his works, with that indignation and contempt of Charles VIII. to which the occasion may readily be supposed to have given rise: as in the following

SONETTO.

" Cantan di chiari autor' le sacre carte,
Che li giganti stolidi, una volta,
Con temeraria voglia, audace, e stolta,
Tentar salir nella superna parte.

Soon after the ceremonial of the coronation, the nuptials of Geoffroi Borgia with Sancia of Aragon were celebrated, the bride being at that time seventeen, and the husband only thirteen years of age. The magnificence of these formalities was as ill suited to the alarming situation of the Aragonese family, as the expense was to their necessities. The pope and the king seemed to contend with each other which should be most lavish of his bounty; but Alexander dispensed only the favours and dignities of the church, whilst Alfonso sacrificed the revenues of his states, and diminished those pecuniary resources of which he stood so greatly in need. Lodovico, the son of Don Henry, natural brother of the king, was on this occasion, received into the sacred college, and was afterwards known by the name of the cardinal of Aragon; and the pope released Alfonso, during his life, from the nominal tribute, so constantly, but ineffectually, claimed by the holy see from the sovereigns of Naples. On the other hand, the king invested Giovanni Borgia, eldest son of the pope, already created duke of Gandia, with the principality of Tricarica, and other rich domains in the kingdom of Naples, of the annual value of twelve thousand du-

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Marriage
of Geoffroi
Borgia with
Sancia of
Aragon.

Onde non col favor del ferreo Marte,
Ma con la man di Giove, armata, e sciolta,
Gli fu la vita, con l'audacia, tolta;
E'l sangue e membra lor per terra sparte.
Dal seme de li quai, produtta in terra,
La Siria fu; che i superi beffeggia,
Imitando i paterni impii costumi.
Non è dunque miracol che si veggia
Un brutto animalletto ancor far guerra,
Col fero volto, a li celesti numi."

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eats ; to which he also added the promise of the first of the seven great offices of state that should become vacant. Nor was Cæsar Borgia, the second son of Alexander, forgotten on this occasion ; another grant of a considerable income from the kingdom of Naples being thought necessary to enable him to support the dignity of his rank, as one of the cardinals of the church. Two hundred thousand ducats were expended in the dowry and paraphernalia of the bride ; and tournaments and feasts, which were continued for several days, seemed to afford both the people and their rulers a short respite from their approaching calamities.

Alfonso pre-
pares for
war.

The alliance and support of the pope being thus secured, Alfonso prepared for war ; and as a proof that he meant, in the first instance, to resort to vigorous measures, he dismissed from his capital the Milanese ambassador, at the same time sequestering the revenues of the duchy of Bari, which had been conferred by his father on Lodovico Sforza. By a secret intercourse with the cardinal Fregoso, and Obietto da Fiesco, who then enjoyed great authority in Genoa, he attempted to deprive the duke of Milan of his dominion over that state ; and that nothing might be wanting on his part to secure himself against the impending attack, he despatched ambassadors to the Sultan Bajazet, to represent to him, that the avowed object of the French king was the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, and to request that he would immediately send a strong reinforcement to his relief. (a) The lessons of experience, which form the wisdom of individuals, seem to be lost on the minds of rulers ;

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. i. 1. 34.*

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otherwise Alfonso might have discovered, that his most effectual safeguard was in the affections of his people, who, if his conduct had entitled him to their favour, would have been found sufficiently powerful for his defence ; whilst, on the contrary, the aversion of his own subjects, accumulated by repeated instances of a cruel and unrelenting disposition, both before and after his accession to the throne, was an internal malady which no foreign aid could remove.

The opinions, debates, and negotiations, to which the intended expedition gave rise among the smaller states of Italy, each of whom had their ambassadors and partisans constantly employed, combined to form such an intricate tissue of political intrigue, as it would be equally useless and tiresome to unravel. It is not, however, difficult to perceive, that these petty sovereigns, instead of uniting in any great and general plan of defence, were each of them labouring to secure his private interests, or to avail himself of any circumstance in the approaching commotions that might contribute to his own aggrandizement. In the conflagration that was speedily to involve the political fabric of Italy, the contest, therefore, was not who should most assist in extinguishing the flames, but who should obtain the greatest share of the spoil.

Views and
conduct of
the smaller
states.

The determination of Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, now became every day more apparent. D'Aubigny, one of the most experienced commanders in the service of the French monarch, had, after his interview with the pope, been directed to remain in Italy ; where he had al-

Charles
VIII. en-
gages Ita-
lian stipen-
diaries.

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ready the command of a small body of French troops, which had been assembled in the territories of Milan: (a) and by the assistance of Lodovico Sforza, and his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, several of the Italian nobility and condottieri, regardless to whom they sold their services, undertook to furnish the king with a stipulated number of cavalry, or men at arms. Among these mercenaries were some of the chief barons of the Roman state, and particularly those of the families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli. (b) This daring instance of insubordination in the Roman nobility alarmed the pontiff, and afforded too plausible a pretext for those severities which he afterwards exercised against them.

In order to concert together the means for their common defence, it was proposed, between Alfonso and the pope, that they should meet at the town of Vico, about twenty miles from Rome, whither Alexander accordingly repaired, accompanied by many of the cardinals, the Venetian and Florentine legates, and about five hundred horse. He was there met by Alfonso, who, with

(a) Commynes, who calls him "un bon et sage chevalier," says, that he had "quelques deux cens hommes d'armes," lib. vii. chap. 5; but Corio, a writer of equal credit, says that he had "mille cavalli Francesi." *Storia di Milan.* par. vii. p. 927. This faithful soldier, and judicious counsellor, to whom the success of the expedition may be chiefly attributed, was of Scottish origin, and is denominated by Summonte, in his History of Naples, vol. iii. p. 516. (Corr. 580.) "Everardo Estuardo," (Everard or Edward Stuart) "Scozzese, per sopra nome, detto Monsignore di Obegni."

(b) These auxiliaries are enumerated by Corio, *Storia di Milan.* par. vii. p. 923.

unavailing humility, professed his willingness to rest his cause on the decision of the sacred college and the ambassadors of the neutral courts. (a) After this interview Alexander returned in haste to Rome, with the resolution of suppressing the Roman nobility, who were now in arms, and openly avowed their attachment to the cause of the French; but he found them so posted, and their numbers so considerably increased, that he thought it advisable to relinquish the attempt for the present, and to reserve his vengeance for a future day.

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Alfonso now determined to take the command of his army in person, and appointed his brother Federigo admiral of his fleet. With the former, it was his intention to advance into Romagna, and oppose himself to the threatened hostilities of D'Aubigny; whilst the latter was directed to proceed to Genoa, for the purpose of affording the citizens of that place an opportunity of freeing themselves from the dominion of the house of Sforza. (b)

The cardinal Fregoso and his nephew, with Obietto da Fiesco, and other Genoese exiles, accompanied the armament of Federigo, which was provided with materials for burning the fleet in the harbour of Genoa, and for destroying the preparations which the French had, for some time

Unsuccessful expedition of the Neapolitans against Genoa.

(a) Corio, *Storia di Milan*. parte vii. p. 925.

(b) The exertions of the monarch were celebrated by the eminent scholars who adorned his court; and Sanazzaro, at this juncture, produced one of his finest Italian poems, in which he has endeavoured to inspire his fellow-soldiers with courage and resolution, in defence of their sovereign and their country. This canzone is given in the Appendix, No. XXVI.

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past, been making there. About the end of the month of June the Neapolitan flotilla sailed from Civita Vecchia, having on board four thousand soldiers, and a considerable quantity of artillery. Its arrival in the gulf of Spezia was immediately announced to Louis, duke of Orleans, who had preceded Charles in his expedition into Italy, and had arrived at Asti, where he was employed in concerting with Lodovico Sforza the measures to be adopted in commencing the war. Selecting for his purpose a body of two thousand infantry and five hundred light-armed horse, he repaired to Genoa, where the partizans of the French had prepared for service seven large ships with heavy artillery, besides several smaller vessels, on which they had embarked six hundred men, under the command of the French general D'Urfé. (a) Detachments from Genoa were also sent to protect the coast; and, in an attempt made by the Aragonese to possess themselves of Porto Venere, they were repulsed with some loss, and retired to Leghorn, to repair their damage. They soon, however, proceeded again towards the coast of Genoa, and effected a landing at Rapallo, where they began to intrench themselves; but the duke of Orleans, having assumed the command of the Genoese fleet, which had been reinforced by four large ships, and having taken on board about a thousand Swiss mercenaries, hastened towards that place; whilst a body of troops, under the command of Anton-Maria da Sanseverino, and Giovanni Adorno, were directed to proceed along

(a) Called by Corio, " Monsignore Orfeo." *Storia di Milan*. par. vii. p. 927.

the coast, and co-operate with the duke. (a) On the first attack the Swiss troops were repulsed by the Neapolitans; but the detachment by land arriving to their assistance, the engagement was renewed; and the Neapolitans, conceiving themselves likely to be surrounded, took to flight, and abandoned their enterprize, with the loss of about two hundred men killed, besides a considerable number of prisoners. To this victory, the heavy artillery of one of the French ships, which was brought to bear upon the Neapolitan troops, greatly contributed. (b) Such of the fugitives as

(a) *Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa*, lib. v. p. 249, b.

(b) It belonged to Commines, who denominates it “une grosse galeace (qui étoit mienne) qui patronisoit un appelé Albert Mely, sur laquelle étoit le dict duc et les principaux. Et la dicte galeace avoit grande artillerie, et grosses pieces, (car elle étoit puissante) et s’approcha si pres de terre que l’artillerie deconfit presque l’ennemi, qui jamais n’en avoit veu de semblable, et étoit chose nouvelle en Italie:” liv. vii. chap. 5, p. 194. The use of artillery was, however, known in Italy about the year 1380, in the wars between the Genoese and the Venetians. *Summonte, Storia di Napoli*, iii. 497. (Corr. 563.) *Malavolti, Storia di Siena*, p. 170. *Guicciardini*, lib. i. The latter author, however, acknowledges that the French had brought this diabolical implement—“questo più tosto diabolico che umano instrumento”—to much greater perfection, and employed it with more celerity and effect, than had before been done. Cornazzano, in his poem *De Re Militari*, narrates the discovery of fire-arms at considerable length. The larger pieces were denominated *Bombardi*, the smaller *Scopetti*, and *Spingarde*.

“Nacque così madonna la bombarda,
Di quel che venne le cose iterando;
Et dui figli hebbe, schiopetto e spingarda.”

Relating the effects of the first of these implements (the bombarda, or cannon) he adds:

“————— dove va in persona,
Ogni edificio gli fa riverenza.”

Cornaz. de Re Milit. lib. iii. p. 58, &c.

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fell into the hands of the Genoese, after being plundered, were suffered to escape; but the Swiss shewed no mercy to the vanquished; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of their allies, stormed and plundered the town of Rapallo, where, among other enormities, they slaughtered even the sick in the hospitals. The indignation which this cruelty excited at Genoa, had nearly effected that which the Neapolitan armament had failed to accomplish. On the return of the troops to that city, the populace rose and massacred several of the Swiss soldiery; and the duke of Orleans, instead of returning from his expedition in triumph, was under the necessity of taking precautions for his safety before he ventured to disembark. (a)

Ferdinand,
duke of Calabria, opposes the French in Romagna.

In the mean time, it became necessary to check the progress of D'Aubigny, who, having now collected a considerable force, had entered Romagna, and was proceeding, without interruption, towards the territories of Naples. The command of the detachment intended for this purpose was relinquished by Alfonso to his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, who, at the head of a body of troops, superior in number to the French and their allies, took his station between the branches of the Po. He there presented himself for some hours in order of battle, and by his courage and promptitude conciliated to his cause no small share of popular favour. (b) For some time, the

(a) *Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa*, lib. v. p. 250.

(b) At this time, Cariteo endeavoured to incite the states of Italy to concord and confidence in each other, and to an united defence against the common enemy, in an energetic canzone, which will be found in the Appendix, No. XXVII.

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French and Neapolitan armies were encamped within a mile of each other; but D'Aubigny prudently declined a contest. As the enemy increased in force, Ferdinand in his turn was compelled to retreat. The intelligence of the disaster at Rappallo, and the certainty of the approach of Charles VIII. had contributed to dispirit the Neapolitan troops; and at the moment when the duke of Calabria ought, by the vigour and decision of his measures, to have confirmed the wavering minds of the Italian potentates, he gave the omen of his future ruin, by retiring under the walls of Faenza; where, instead of attempting offensive operations, he was satisfied with fortifying himself against an attack. (a)

On the twenty-second day of August, 1494, Charles took his departure from Vienne; and, passing through Grenoble, crossed the Alps, and arrived at Turin; where he was received with great honour by Bianca, widow of Charles, duke of Savoy. Of the splendid appearance of the duchess and her court, a particular description is given by one of the attendants of the French monarch. (b) Such was the profusion of jewels

Charles
VIII. cross-
es the Alps.

(a) *Guicciardini*, lib. i. vol. i. p. 48.

(b) André de la Vigne, was secretary to Anne of Bretagne, queen of Charles VIII. and accompanied the king on this expedition, of which he has left a journal, in prose and verse, entitled, *Le Vergier d'Honneur*, which has been attributed, in part, to Octavien de St. Gelais, bishop of Angoulême; but the French critics have determined, that the complaint on the death of Charles VIII. and his epitaph, are the only parts of the work to which the bishop has any pretensions. Of this work there are two editions, both printed in Gothic characters at Paris, but without date, the one in folio, the other in quarto; the former of these, which has been consulted on this occasion, is entitled :

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displayed on this occasion, that Charles, whose resources were not very ample, conceived that a favourable opportunity was afforded him for improving them; of this he accordingly availed himself, by borrowing a great part of these superfluous ornaments, which he immediately pledged for a sum of twelve thousand ducats. During his residence at Turin, he was entertained by such exhibitions as were then esteemed the most extraordinary efforts of ingenuity. (a) On the sixth day of September he quitted that city and proceeded to Chieri, where his progress was again retarded for some days, by the amusements and representations which had been prepared for him, in which the most beautiful women of Italy were selected to congratulate him on his approach, and to crown him *Champion of the honour of the fair*. (b) On

LE VERGIER D'HONNEUR, NOUVELLEMENT IMPRIME A PARIS, de l'interprinse et voyage de Naples. Auquel est comprins comment le roy, Charles huytiesme de ce nom, a baniere deployée, passa et repassa, de journee en journee, depuis Lyon jusques a Naples, et de Naples jusques a Lyon. Ensemble plusieurs aultres choses, faictes et composees par reverend pere en dieu Monsieur Octavien de Saint Gelais, évesque d'Angoulême, et par Maistre Andry de la Vigne, secretaire de la royne, et de Monsieur le duc de Savoye, avec aultres.

(a) These exhibitions are thus described by André de la Vigne:

“ Labeur y vis bien dehait en pourpoint;
Et pastoreaulx chanter de contrepont
Petis rondeaulx faits dessus leurs hystoires;
Inventions de la loi de nature.
Pareillement de cette descripture
Bien compassees furent illic a flac
Noe, Sem, Cham, y vis en portraiture,
Et de la loi de grace leur figure;
Puis Abraham, Jacob, et Isaac,
Plusiers histoires de Lancelot du Lac,
Celle d'Athenes du gran Cocordillac.” &c.

(b) *Champion de l'honneur des dames*. Of the taste of the mo-

his arrival at Asti he was met by Lodovico Sforza, accompanied by his duchess, Beatrice of Este, the splendor of whose dress and equipage astonished his followers. The attention of Lodovico had here provided him with a number of beautiful courtesans from Milan, who were honoured by the notice, and rewarded by the liberality of the French monarch. (a) At this place his expedition had, however, nearly been brought to a premature termination; for he was seized with a disorder which confined him for some days to his chamber, and is said to have endangered his life. (b)

narch, and of the delicacy of his female attendants, some idea may be formed from the account given of these representations; one of which was a pretended *accouchement*. This exhibition is described in the rude verses of André de la Vigne. *v. Appen.* No. XXVIII.

(a) “Lodovico Sforza mandò al Rè molte formosissime matrone Milanese, con alcune delle quali pigliò amoroso piacere, e quelle presentò di preciosi anelli. D’indi per la mutation dell’aere Carlo s’infermò di varuole,” &c. *Corio, Storia Milanese*, lib. vii. p. 935.

(b) Historians have represented this disorder as the small-pox. Malavolti, in his History of Siena, says, that Charles was detained at Asti about a month; “ritenuto da quel male che da noi è domandato *Vajuolo*,” par. iii. p. 99. Commynes also denominates the disorder of the king, “la petite verole,” and adds, that his life was in danger. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d’arme sul Tarro*, p. 7, informs us, that, from change of air, Charles was seized with a fever, “e mandò fuori alcuni segni che si chiamano *epinitide*, (*ἑπινιτῖδα*, *night-pimples*); i nostri le chiamano *Vajuole*.” From the extreme licentiousness in which the king had indulged himself, it is not, however, improbable that his complaint was of a different nature, and that the loathsome disorder, which, within the space of a few months afterwards, began to spread itself over Italy, and was thence communicated to the rest of Europe, is of royal origin, and may be dated from this event. In favour of this supposition it may be observed, that this disease was much more violent in its symptoms, on its first appearance, than in after times, and that its

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A. Æt. 19.His inter-
view with
Gian-Gale-
azzo, duke
of Milan.

Whilst the king remained at Asti, he received information of the success of the duke of Orleans at Genoa, and of the retreat of Ferdinand of Aragon before the arms of D'Aubigny. He did not, however, quit that place before the sixth day of October, when he proceeded to Casale, the capital city of the marquis of Montferrat. At this place he met with a reception similar to that which he had experienced at Turin, and repaid it in a similar manner by borrowing the jewels of the marchioness, who was the mother of the duchess of Savoy, upon which he raised at Genoa a further sum of money. He then hastened with his army to Pavia, where some jealousy arose between him and Lodovico Sforza; who consented, as a pledge of his fidelity, to place the fortress of the city in his hands. On this occasion, Charles had an interview with his near relation Gian-Galeazzo, the unfortunate duke of Milan, who then lay at the point of death, a victim to the ambition of his uncle Lodovico. The duchess Isabella availed herself of this opportunity to throw herself at the feet of the monarch, to entreat his interference on behalf of her husband, and his forbearance towards her father and family; but the importunities of a daughter, a wife, and a mother, were lost on the depraved mind of Charles, and served only to excite the unfeeling remarks of his resemblance to the small-pox probably gave rise to the appellation by which it has since been known.

“Protinus informes totum per corpus achores
Rumpebant, faciemque horrendam, et pectora foede
Turpebant; species morbi nova; pustula summæ
Glandis ad effigiem, et pituita marcida pingui.”

Fracastor, Syphil. lib. i. l. 340.

barbarian attendants. (a) The duke did not long survive this interview ; and Lodovico, having attained the height of his wishes, was saluted by a band of venal partisans, and a corrupt populace, as duke of Milan. His wife, Beatrice, daughter of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, who had long and arrogantly contended with Isabella for precedence in rank and honours, now enjoyed a complete, but temporary triumph over her rival, who was driven from the court of Milan, and obliged, with her children, to take refuge in an obscure and sickly cell of the castle of Pavia. (b)

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On the arrival of Charles at Piacenza a few days after this interview, he received intelligence of the death of the duke, Gian-Galeazzo ; and although he had not the generosity to interfere on his behalf, he was shocked at a catastrophe which he had taken no measures to prevent, and celebrated his obsequies with great state and formality. (c) That the duke died by poison, administered to him at the instance of Lodovico Sforza, was the general opinion ; and Theodoro of Pavia, an eminent physician, who had accompanied the king of France,

Hesitates
respecting
the prosecu-
tion of his
enterprise.

(a) " Elle avoit meilleur besoin," says Commynes, " de prier pour son mari et pour elle, qui étoit encore belle dame et jeune." lib. vii. chap. vi. p. 196.

(b) " Isabella co i poveri figliuoletti, vestiti di lugubri vestimenti, come prigioniera si richiuse in una camera, e gran tempo stette giacendo sopra la dura terra, che non vide aere." Corio, *Histor. Milanese*, part. vii. p. 936. This unfortunate princess is introduced by Bernardo Accolti, as thus lamenting her misfortunes :—

" Re padre, Re fratel, Duca in consorte
Ebbi, e in tre anni, i tre rapì la morte."

Accolti. *Op. Ven.* 1519.

(c) Commynes, *Mém.* lib. vii. chap. vii. p. 179. (Corr. 197.)

CHAP. in his interview with the duke, declared, that he
 III. had perceived manifest symptoms of its effects. (a)
 A. D. 1494. A sudden panic seized the French monarch. The
 A. Æt. 19. perpetration of such a crime filled him with appre-
 hensions for his own safety. He had already enter-
 tained well-grounded suspicions of the fidelity of
 Lodovico Sforza, and had experienced considera-
 ble difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies
 for his troops. In this situation he began serious-
 ly to hesitate on the expediency of prosecuting
 his expedition ; and his doubts were increased by
 a communication from his general and grand-ecuy-
 er, D'Urfé, then at Genoa, advising him to be on
 his guard against treachery. Such of his atten-
 dants as had been the first to encourage him to this
 undertaking, were now the most earnest in advis-
 ing him to abandon it ; and had not the Floren-
 tine exiles, and particularly Lorenzo and Giovan-
 ni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, actuat-
 ed by the hopes of supplanting the rival branch
 of their family, at this critical juncture interposed
 their solicitations, and offered their services to the
 king, it is probable that Italy might yet have been
 saved from her impending calamities. (b)

Determines
 to proceed
 by way of
 Florence to
 Rome.

Having recovered from his alarm, Charles quit-
 ted Piacenza on the twenty-fifth day of October.
 A question of great moment now presented itself
 for his consideration : whether he should proceed
 through the Tuscan and Roman territories direct-
 ly to Naples, or, by forcing a passage through Ro-
 magna and the March of Ancona, enter that king-
 dom by the district of Abruzzo. The judicious

(a) *Guicciardini*, lib. i. p. 49.

(b) *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. vii. chap. vii. p. 197.

determination of the king and his advisers on this occasion, was of the utmost importance to the success of his enterprize. In relinquishing the track through Romagna, he was not deterred by the opposition which he might there meet, from the duke of Calabria, who had already retreated before the arms of D'Aubigny ; but he prudently considered, that, unless he could either secure the alliance of the pope and the Florentines, or disable them from resistance, he might, during his contest with Alfonso in Naples, be exposed to the hostile attack of these adjacent states. Instead, therefore, of directing his course towards Bologna, he ordered the duke de Mompensier, one of the princes of the family of Bourbon, to proceed with the advanced guard to Pontremoli, a town on the river Magro, which divides the Tuscan territory from that of Genoa ; to which place Charles followed with the remainder of his army, having passed the Appenines, by the mountain of Parma. From Pontremoli, Mompensier proceeded through the district of Luigiano to Fivizzano, a fortress belonging to the Florentines ; and being there joined by the Swiss mercenaries, who had returned from Genoa, and brought with them several heavy pieces of artillery, the French attacked the castle, which they carried by storm, and put both the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The town of Sarzana, which had been acquired by the prudence, and fortified under the directions of Lorenzo the Magnificent, next opposed their progress ; and, although the number of soldiers employed in its defence was small, and the commander of little experience or reputation, yet such

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was the situation and strength of the place, and of the adjacent citadel of Sarzanella, that the carrying them by force was regarded as a matter of considerable difficulty. Nor could the French army long have retained its position, in a situation between the sea and the mountains, where, from the sterility of the district, they could scarcely hope to obtain supplies. To proceed forwards, whilst these formidable positions remained in the hands of an enemy, was equally inconsistent with the honour and the safety of the king. (a)

Piero de' Medici surrenders to Charles VIII. the fortresses of Tuscany.

In this emergency, the unhappy dissensions which prevailed among the citizens of Florence, again relieved the French from their difficulties. From the time that the approach of the king had been announced, the resentment of the inhabitants had been chiefly directed against Piero de' Medici, whom they considered as the principal cause of the dangers which they were likely to incur. On his part, Piero had endeavoured to regain their confidence, by active preparations for resisting the enemy ; to which end he had strengthened the city of Pisa, and other fortified towns of the republic, and had, particularly, provided for the defence of Florence. These preparations were not, however, effected without expense, and the levies imposed upon the citizens became an additional cause of dissatisfaction. He then endeavoured to avail himself of the voluntary contributions of the richer classes ; but, instead of the necessary aid, he obtained only reproaches and threats. Alarmed and dispirited, he adopted the hasty resolution of re-

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. i. *Mém. de Commines*, lib. vii. chap. 7. vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

pairing in person to the French camp, for the purpose of endeavouring to conciliate the favour of Charles, by such timely concessions as circumstances might require. He therefore privately quitted the city, and hastened to Empoli, a few miles distant from Florence ; whence he addressed a letter to the magistrates, which is yet preserved, and which fully explains the motives of his conduct at this period so critical to the fortunes of himself and his family. (a)

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“ *Magnificent and honoured Fathers,*

“ I shall not attempt to apologize for my sudden departure, because I can scarcely think myself culpable for taking a measure which, according to my weak judgment, appears to be the best remedy for restoring the tranquillity of my country, and which at the same time is attended with less danger and inconvenience than any other, both to the public and to individuals ; excepting only myself. I therefore intend to present myself in person before his most christian majesty of France, as I may probably thus be enabled to appease the resentment which he has conceived against this city, for the conduct which it has hitherto been obliged to adopt, in consequence of its engagements with other states ; it appearing to be only his majesty's wish, that an alteration should take place in this respect. I, who have been blamed as the cause of this animosity, will, therefore, either exculpate myself to his majesty, or shall be ready to receive due punishment, rather in my own person than in the body of the

(a) The original is given in the Appendix, No. XXIX.

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republic. Of this course of conduct, particular instances have been given in my own family ; but I consider myself as under much greater obligations to exert myself, than any of my predecessors have been ; because I have been honoured much more beyond my merits than any of them ; and the more unworthy I am of those honours, the more I feel myself bound to engage in my present attempt, and not to shrink from labour, inconvenience, or expense, or even the sacrifice of my life, which I would willingly resign, for each of you in particular, and much more for the whole republic. This I shall probably manifest on the present occasion, on which I shall either return to the satisfaction of yourselves and the city, or lose my life in the attempt. In the mean time, I entreat you, by the fidelity and affection which you owe to the ashes of your Lorenzo, my late father, and the kindness which you have shewn to me, who, in reverence and affection, am not less your son than his, that you will remember me in your prayers. I also have further to request, that you will accept my recommendation of my brothers and children, whom, if it should be the will of God that I should not return, I bequeath wholly to your care. I shall begin my journey from this place tomorrow. PIERO DE' MEDICI."

" In Empoli, 26 October, 1494."

From Empoli, Piero proceeded to Pisa, whence, on the following day, he addressed a letter to his private secretary, Pietro da Bibbiena, in which he directs him to assure the Neapolitan ambassadors at Florence, of his unalterable attachment to Al-

fonso and the house of Aragon, from whom he entertains a favourable construction of the measures which he has unfortunately been compelled to adopt. If his letter to the magistrates contain, as might be expected, only the more plausible and popular motives of his conduct in this private communication, he explicitly acknowledges, that he has been abandoned by all the citizens of Florence, as well his friends as his enemies ; and that he has neither resources nor credit to support the war, in which he has involved himself and his country, by his adherence to his engagements with the royal house of Naples. (a)

Under these discouraging impressions, Piero de' Medici presented himself, with a few attendants, at the French camp before Sarzana. On his arrival, two of the confidential officers of Charles, Monsieur de Piennes, his chamberlain, and the general Brissonet, were appointed to treat with him. Their first request was, that the fortress of Sarzana should be surrendered to the French arms, with which Piero instantly complied. They then insisted on Pisa, Leghorn, and Pietrasanta, being also delivered up to the king, on his promise to restore them, when they were no longer necessary to the success of his enterprise ; and to this demand Piero also assented. The readiness with which he thus delivered up places of such strength and importance, astonished the French, who seemed to have despised his weakness and ridiculed his credulity. (b) As he held no ostensible rank, they

(a) For the letter to Bibbiena, *v. Appendix*, No. XXX.

(b) "Ceux qui traictoient avec le dict Pierre, m'ont compté, et à plusieurs autres l'ont dit, en se raillant et moquant de lui, qu'ils

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The Florentines exasperated at the conduct of Piero de' Medici.

gave him the title of *Il gran Lombardo*; it being in those times customary to designate all the Italians by the general name of Lombards. (a)

This unfortunate transaction, in which Piero de' Medici professedly imitated, but with mistaken application, the example of his father in his voyage to Naples, gave irremediable offence to the citizens of Florence; who, although they had refused to assist him in opposing the progress of the French, conceived that he had made a wanton sacrifice of their interests. It may, however, well be doubted, whether this was so much the reason as the pretext for the resentment of the Florentines, many of whom had become impatient of the authority of the Medici, and, being prompted by the violent harangues of Savonarola, sought only for an opportunity of exciting the populace to second their views. A new deputation was nominated, consisting of five citizens, among whom was Savonarola, who were directed to proceed to Lucca, where the king had now arrived, and to entreat him to moderate the severity of the terms agreed on. Charles gave them an attentive audience; but neither the persuasions nor the threats of the priest, who represented himself as a messenger on the part of God, could induce the king to relax from his former stipulations. (b) This measure, was, however, a sufficient indica-

étoient ébahis comme si tot accorda si grande chose, et à quoi ils ne s'attendoient pas." *Mém. de Comm.* liv. vii. chap. vii. p. 198. The circumstances of this interview are also related by André de la Vigne, in his *Vergier d'Honneur*, with his usual insipidity.

(a) *Nardi, Hist. di Fiorenza.* lib. i. p. 11.

(b) *Ibid.*

tion to Piero de' Medici, of the dissatisfaction which his conduct had occasioned, and of the necessity of securing himself against the effects of that animosity which would probably be excited against him. He therefore engaged his near relation, Paolo Orsini, who then commanded a body of troops in the service of the republic, to accompany him towards the city, intending to suppress the outrages of the populace by force of arms, and, as his adversaries have conjectured, to take upon himself the uncontrolled dominion of the state; to which he is supposed to have been incited by his wife, Alfonsina, and her relations of the Orsini family. (a) On his arrival, he proceeded with a few attendants to the palace of justice, apparently for the purpose of explaining to the citizens the reasons of his conduct; but Luca Corsini, Giacompo de' Nerli, and other magistrates, met him at the gates, and with many reproaches, opposed his admission. This circumstance occasioned a general clamour and commotion, in which the friends of the Medici, who attempted to suppress the tumult, were insulted and plundered; whilst Piero with difficulty escaped the resentment of the populace.

In the mean time, the cardinal, less obnoxious to the people than his brother, endeavoured to conciliate their favour by pacific remonstrances, and by the cry of *Palle, Palle*, in reference to the arms of his family. But the charm which had lasted so many years, was now broken; and these words, which had seldom been heard without producing a favourable effect, only served to excite additional indignation. The clamour and violence

(a) *Nardi, Hist. di Fiorenza*, lib. i. p. 12.

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The cardinal de' Medici, with his brothers, Piero and Giuliano, expelled the city.

of the populace increased; the alarm-bell rang; the prisoners were set at liberty; the farther progress of the cardinal was prevented by impenetrable crowds, whilst Piero and his attendants were threatened with an attack of stones from the windows and roofs of the houses. The fate of the Medici hung on the decision of a moment; and Piero had to determine, whether he would try the event of arms in the bosom of his native place, or abandon the city, and seek a refuge in some other part of Italy. Of these expedients, he adopted the latter; but, by an unaccountable fatality, instead of resorting to the French camp, where he would probably have obtained the favour and protection of Charles, for having complied with whose requisitions he had been obliged to quit the city, he passed, with his brother Giuliano, through the gate of S. Gallo, and took the road to Bologna. (a) The cardinal, either not equally alarmed at the danger, or more reluctant to quit his native place, was the last of the brothers who left the city. Finding, however, that the populace were proceeding to the utmost extreme of violence, he divested himself of the insignia of his rank, and, assuming the habit of a Franciscan, passed, without being recognized, through the midst of the exasperated multitude, to the convent of S. Marco, where he hoped to find a temporary shelter, in a building erected and endowed by his ancestors. In this, however, he was disappointed; the monks having, with singular ingratitude, refused to admit him within their gates. Repulsed from the only quarter on which he relied for protection, he

(a) This event occurred on the ninth day of November, 1494. *Nardi*, lib. i. p. 13.

immediately abandoned the city, and, hastening into the secret recesses of the Appenines, effected his retreat, and joined his brothers at Bologna. (a)

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No sooner had the Medici quitted the city, than the rage of the populace broke out in open acts of violence. The palace of the Medici, and the houses of several of the chief officers of the state, who were supposed to be favourable to their party, were attacked and plundered. The residence of the cardinal, in the district of S. Antonio, experienced a similar fate; but a circumstance which cannot fail to excite the regret of every friend of the arts, is the destruction of the garden of S. Marco, established by the liberality and personal attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, as an academy for the promotion of sculpture; the repository of the finest remains of antiquity, and the school of Michael Angelo. We might have pardoned the expunging of the figures of the rebels, painted on the walls of the palace, in the year 1434, or the obliteration of the labours of Andrea del Castagno, commemorating the conspiracy of the Pazzi, in 1478; but the destruction of this collection was an irreparable misfortune to the progress of true taste, as yet in its earliest infancy; and was poorly compensated by the figure of Judith, executed by Donatello, at the request of the Florentines; and placed at the gate of the palace,

The palace
of the Me-
dici plun-
dered.

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d' huomini di Casa Medici, Opusc. vol. iii. p. 65.* To the short period which elapsed between the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of his son Piero, we may refer the Latin poem of Lorenzo Vitelli, entitled *Arborea*; in which, under the allegory of a vigorous and fruitful tree, he describes the flourishing family of the Medici; not aware of the sudden blight which it was shortly to experience. *v. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 386.*

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Pisa asserts
its liberties.

as an emblem of the destruction of a tyrant. (a)

On the same day that the brothers of the Medici were compelled to abandon their native place, a circumstance occurred in the city of Pisa, which, although, in its origin, of small comparative importance, became in the event a fruitful source of contention and bloodshed; and served, when the terrors of a foreign enemy were removed, to disturb the repose and protract the calamities of Italy. Irreconcilably adverse to the Florentine government, the citizens of Pisa were, at all times, ready to avail themselves of any opportunity to assert their ancient liberties. This restless and unconquerable spirit afforded a reason, or a pretext, for additional cautions and severities on the part of the Florentines; which, without subduing the courage, excited the resentment of the people. No sooner had Charles, after quitting Lucca, arrived at Pisa, than he was surrounded by a tumultuous assemblage of the inhabitants, who, with affecting lamentations, and grievous complaints against their oppressors, entreated the king to free them from their yoke. (b)

(a) *Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine*, vol. iii. p. 223. The dispersion of the library of Politiano followed soon after the exile of the Medici. The learned admirers of this great man will, perhaps, be gratified with the inventory of the MSS. and other effects, found in his possession at the time of his death, taken by the celebrated and learned Greek, Joannes Lascar, and which has not before been printed. v. *Appendix*, No. XXXI.

(b) “ Par grans monceaux le commun populaire
Deça, dela, c’étoit voulu assire,
Pour hault crier en amour volontaire;
Voire si hault qu’ils ne pouvoyent taire,
Libertate, Libertate, chier sire;
Qui en François vault autant comme dire,
Helas, sire, donnez nous liberté,” &c.

And. de la Vigne, Vergier d’Honneur.

The earnest and repeated solicitations of the multitude made a powerful impression on some of the favourite attendants of the king, who observed to him, that the request of the citizens was just and reasonable; whereupon Charles, acting under the impulse of his immediate feelings, and forgetful or regardless of his solemn engagement to restore the city of Pisa to its former governors, signified his assent to their request. This hasty and inconsiderate assurance was received by the citizens of Pisa as a full emancipation from their servitude, and their exultation was displayed by the immediate demolition of the arms and insignia of the Florentines throughout the city. The Florentine commissioners were at the same time expelled from Pisa, not without great apprehensions of violence to their persons, which was prevented only by the authority of the king and his attendants.

Whilst Charles was thus hastening, without interruption, towards the object of his destination, his general, D'Aubigny, had made a considerable progress in Romagna, where he had attacked and taken several fortresses, and had compelled Caterina Sforza, widow of Girolamo Riario, who then governed the states of Imola and Forli in the name of her infant son Ottaviano, to relinquish the alliance into which she had entered with the pope and the king of Naples. His approach towards Faenza, with the additional troops which had joined his standard, alarmed the duke of Calabria, who, quitting his entrenchments, proceeded with his army, by the most retired and difficult paths, to Cesena. He was there informed of the commotions which had arisen in Florence, and of the surrender of the chief fortresses of the Tuscan

Retreat of
the duke of
Calabria
before the
arms of
D'Aubigny.

CHAP. state to the French arms; in consequence of which,
 III. he again broke up his camp, and hastily retreated
 A.D. 1494. towards Rome. By these pusillanimous measures
 A. Æt. 19. the power of the French, which, like a small
 stream, might have been successfully checked in
 its commencement, was suffered to proceed in an
 uninterrupted course, and, by a continual acces-
 sion, to bear down all possibility of resistance.

Charles
 VIII. en-
 ters the city
 of Florence.

On the eleventh day of November, Charles left Pisa, and proceeded to Empoli, intending to enter the city of Florence; but on his arrival at Signa, about six miles distant, he received information of the expulsion of the Medici, in consequence of the surrender of the fortified towns of the republic to his arms. Conceiving it, therefore, not improbable that he might meet with resistance, he ordered D'Aubigny, who was no longer opposed in Romagna, to join him with a part of the troops under his command. This measure greatly alarmed the inhabitants of Florence, who began to suspect that Charles intended to possess himself of the city by force. (a) Nor were there wanting among his followers, many who advised him to this mea-

(a) The intention of the king to attack the city, is also thus adverted to by André de la Vigne :

“ Au pont du Signe fut des jours cinq ou six ;
 Car Florentins mutines et perdus
 S'estoient contre Pierre de Medycys,
 Qui leurs chateaulx avoit au roy rendus.
 Dessus les champs mises ses guettes et gardes,
 Et leur monstra de si bon remise,
 Que tost apres vindrent les ambassades
 De Florence, de Sene, et de Venice:
 Fait assembler avoit ja tous ses gens,
 Et amener toute l'artillerie,
 Pour a Florence, sans etre negligens,
 Y aller faire quelque grand dyablerie.”

sure, and who even endeavoured to prevail upon him to deliver it up to be plundered by the soldiery, on the pretence of its being the first place that had resisted his arms, and as an example to the rest of Italy. (a) The Florentines were, however, incessant in their embassies and representations to Charles; and perhaps the rich presents and delicate viands, with which they supplied his camp at Signa, might, in some degree, mitigate his resentment. Nor did they neglect the best precautions in their power to secure themselves against hostilities, in case the king should prove irreconcilable. Great numbers of armed men from different parts of the Tuscan territory entered the city under various pretexts, and were secretly lodged in the houses of the citizens. The *condottieri* in the service of the republic distributed their troops in the most convenient stations, and held themselves in readiness for action, on the tolling of the great bell of the palace of justice. These alarms, however, soon subsided, and on the seventeenth day of November, (b) Charles made his

(a) *Guicciardini*, lib. i. vol. i. p. 58.

(b) On the same day died at Florence, in the thirty-second year of his age, the accomplished Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, and, if we may credit the report of Savonarola, had the good fortune to obtain a situation in purgatory. This intelligence the preacher thus announced to his audience at the conclusion of one of his sermons, a few days after the death of that eminent man. “Io vi voglio rivelare un secreto, che insino a quì non ho voluto dirlo, perchè non ho avuto tanta certezza come ho avuto da diece hore in quà. Ciascuno di voi credo che cognoscesse il conte Giovanni della Mirandola, che stava quì in Firenze, ed è morto pochi giorni sono. Dicovi che l'anima sua, per le orationi de' frati, ed anche per alcune sue buone opere, che fece in questa vita, e per altre orationi, è nel purgatorio—*orate pro eo*—lui fu tardo a non venire

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peaceable and public entry into the city on horseback, under a rich canopy, supported by some of his younger nobles, and attended by his barons and men at arms. He was met on his approach by the magistrates and principal inhabitants, who accompanied him to the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where he paid a visit to the great altar; after which he proceeded to the palace of the Medici, which was magnificently prepared for his reception. (a) His nobility and chief officers were lodged in the princely houses of the richer inhabitants; and the illumination of the city, which continued every night during the stay of the king, contributed no less to its peace and security, than to the honour of its royal guest. Conciliated by these attentions, Charles passed several days in partaking of the amusements prepared for him. Among these was the *Rappresentazione* of the Annunciation of the Virgin, which was exhibited, with great splendour and mechanical ingenuity, in the church of S. Felice, and with which the king was so greatly delighted, that he requested to be gratified by a second exhibition. (b)

No sooner had the three brothers of the Medici quitted the city, than Lorenzo and Giovanni,

alla religione in vita sua, come era spirato, e però è in purgatorio." The verses of Marullus, on the death of Pico, are more appropriate, although less known, than the ostentatious lines inscribed on his tomb in the church of S. Marco at Florence. v. *Op. Mar.* 53.

(a) *Nardi Hist. Fior.* i. p. 14. The entrance of the king into Florence is one of those topics on which his poetical annalist, De la Vigne, dwells with particular satisfaction. On this occasion he enumerates the whole array of the French army, and all the attendants of the king. v. *Appendix*, No. XXXII.

(b) *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* lib. i. p. 15.

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the sons of Pier-Francesco, returned to Florence, and were restored to their possessions and their rights; (a) but the name of the Medici was now become odious, and with a despicable servility, which has been imitated in subsequent times, they relinquished their family appellation, and adopted that of *Popolani*; at the same time removing from their residence the insignia of their arms, and replacing them by those of the republic.

In the mean time, Piero and his brothers, in their retreat to Bologna, had not experienced that friendly reception which they had reason to expect from Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the chief authority in that place, and whose obli-

Piero' de' Medici retires to Venice, and the cardinal to Castello.

(a) Lorenzo, the son of Pier Francesco, appears to have emulated his relations of the elder branch of his family, in the love of literature and patronage of learned men, Politiano has addressed to him his *Sylva*, entitled *Manto*, in terms of great esteem:—"Ferreus sim," says he, "si tibi quid denegem, tam nobili adolescenti, tam probo, tam mei amanti, tanto denique eam rem studio efflagitanti." The beautiful introductory stanzas to this piece have been elegantly translated by the Rev. Mr. Greswell, in his *Memoirs of Politiano*, &c. p. 92. Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco was also the great patron of the poet Marullus, who has inscribed to him, at different times, his four books of epigrams, several of which are devoted to his praise. In one of these he is thus addressed:—

"Felix ingenii, felix et gratiæ opumque,
Laurus, et antiquis non leve nomen avis,
Quærenti cuidam num plura his optet? ut, inquit,
Et prodesse queam pluribus, et cupiam." p. 42.

Marullus also addressed to Giovanni, the other son of Pier-Francesco, a copy of Latin verses, in praise of Caterina Sforza, the widow of Girolamo Riario, whom Giovanni afterwards married, and by whom he had Giovanni de' Medici, captain of the *bande nere*, usually called *Il gran diavolo*, and father of Cosmo I. grand-duke of Tuscany. *Vide Epigr. lib. iv. p. 54.*

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gations to their father were supposed to be a sufficient pledge for his favour. Expecting from others that fortitude which, in the moment of adversity, he did not exhibit himself, Bentivoglio, instead of consoling them in their misfortunes, or encouraging their hopes, reproached them for having pusillanimously quitted a place, where they had such influence and resources, not only without the death of a single adherent, but without even the unsheathing of a sword, or the slightest effort in their own defence. As this remonstrance could now be of no avail, the brothers considered it as a sufficient indication that Bologna would not long be a place of safety. Piero, disguised in the habit of a valet, hastened to Venice, where he met with an honourable reception from the senate, who permitted him to wear his arms in the city, and to be attended by fifteen or twenty of his adherents. The cardinal, shortly afterwards, retreated to Pitigliano, and from thence to Castello, where he found a hospitable shelter with the Vitelli, then the lords of that place, and the ancient friends of his family. (a)

Among the nobility who attended the French king on his expedition, there was no one who enjoyed a greater share of his confidence, than Philip de Bresse, uncle to the young duke of

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici*, 52, 65. Philip de Commines was at Venice when Piero de' Medici arrived, and seems to have taken an interest in his misfortunes; for, says he, "j'avois aimé le père." Piero, in recounting his disasters, particularly dwelt on the unkindness of one of his factors, who refused to furnish him with apparel, to the amount of one hundred ducats, for the use of himself and his brother. So true is it, that ingratitude is the sting of misfortune.

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tends to re-
instate Pie-
ro de' Me-
dici.

Savoy, and who succeeded at no distant period to the sovereignty of that state. On the arrival of the army at Florence, this nobleman had taken up his residence at the house of Lorenzo Tornabuoni, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, who found the means of influencing him in favour of the exiled family; insomuch that De Bresse did not hesitate strenuously to advise the king to recall Piero, and restore him to his former authority in Florence. Nor was Charles averse to a measure, which was recommended to him no less by the recent compliance of Piero with his request, at so critical a juncture, than by the remembrance of the connexion which had so long subsisted between their families, and the many services rendered by the Medici to himself and his ancestors. Despatches were accordingly sent to Bologna, requesting Piero to return into the vicinity of Florence, and assuring him of the speedy restoration of his former authority; but these letters did not arrive till he had already taken his departure for Venice, to which place they were forwarded by the cardinal. Instead, however, of complying with the requisition of the king, Piero imprudently laid this communication before the members of the senate, desiring their opinion on the measures which he ought to pursue. The advice which they gave was such as suited their own interest, rather than the circumstances of their guest. Neither the promotion of the views of the French, nor the tranquillity of the state of Florence, were desirable objects to the Venetians. They therefore represented to Piero the hazards

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which he would incur by his implicit confidence in the assurances of the king, and flattered him with promises that, when occasion offered, they would themselves assist in effecting his return. (a) Influenced by these representations, Piero lost the only opportunity which ever occurred, of being restored to his native place; whilst the State-Inquisitors of Venice directed that he should be narrowly watched, so that he might not quit the city without their consent. (b)

Commotions
in Florence,
and treaty
with Charles
VIII.

But, although the favourable intentions of the king towards Piero de' Medici were thus rendered ineffectual, the rumour of such a design excited a violent alarm in the city, which was increased by the king's avowing his determination to establish a civil authority, and to exercise, by his own magistrates, a paramount jurisdiction. On this occasion, the citizens of Florence gave a decisive proof, that they were no less resolute in defending their liberties, than they were solicitous, by every reasonable concession, to conciliate the good will of the king. The magistrates expressed their determination to resist, to the utmost extremity, rather than submit to conditions which, they conceived, would for ever deprive them of their rights, and afford a pretext for the monarchs of France to consider them as their vassals. The populace, animated with the same spirit, thronged to the palace; the French soldiers were under arms; the Swiss guards had already attacked the

(a) *Guicciardini*, lib. i. vol. i. p. 59.

(b) *Guicciardini*, lib. i. vol. i. pp. 57, 59. *Nardi, Hist. di Fior.*
p. 15.

Borgo d'ogni Santi, on pretence that the king was in danger, but had been repulsed by the populace, and discomfited by showers of stones thrown from the roofs and windows. (a) The tumult had continued for an hour, and the whole city was on the point of becoming a dreadful scene of massacre and bloodshed; when some of the French chiefs, and a deputation from the magistrates, made their appearance, and, by their united efforts and conciliating assurances, succeeded in restoring the public tranquillity. This vigorous opposition induced the king to relax in his pretensions; but whilst he consented to relinquish all interference in the municipal concerns of the Florentines, he insisted on the payment of a large sum of money, as the price of their exemption. On this occasion, the courage of an individual completed what the spirit of the people had begun. The conditions proposed by the king, had been read by his secretary, who declared, that they were the ultimate and only terms to which he would accede; when Piero Capponi, one of the four deputies who had been authorized to negotiate the treaty, stepped forwards, and, seizing the paper from the hands of the secretary, tore it in the presence of the king; at the same time exclaiming—"If these be your terms, you may sound

(a) Guicciardini, whilst he admits that the citizens and the French soldiery lived in mutual apprehension and distrust of each other, asserts, that they did not proceed to acts of violence. "*Niuno assaltava l'altro o provocava;*" but Nardi, who was also a Florentine and a contemporary, and whose History is chiefly confined to the internal transactions of the city, informs us, that this affray lasted more than an hour. *Nardi, Hist. di Fior.* lib. i. p. 15.

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your trumpets, and we shall ring our bells.” (a) This act of open defiance, from a citizen of acknowledged ability and integrity, and who was well known to Charles, having resided as an ambassador in his court, had an immediate effect on the king; who probably considered, that, although he might succeed in subduing the inhabitants and destroying the city, the consequences of such a measure would be the ruin of his expedition. Affecting, therefore, to receive in good part this daring remonstrance, he directed that Capponi, who had quitted the room in apparent anger, should be recalled; and the treaty was concluded without further difficulty. (b) The principal heads of the convention were a participation of mutual privileges between the two countries; that to his title of king of France, Charles should add that of *Restorer and Protector of the Liberties of Florence*; that as a mark of gratitude, the republic should present the king with a free-gift of one hundred and twenty thousand florins; that the fortresses and places surrendered to the French should be restored, on certain specified conditions; that the citizens of Pisa, on receiving their par-

(a) Machiavelli has recorded this event in his first Decennale:

“ Lo strepito dell’ arme e de’ cavalli,
Non pote far che non fosse sentita
La voce d’un Cappon fra cento Galli.
Tanto che ’l re superbo fe partita,
Poscia che la cittate essere intese
Per mantener sua libertate unita.”

(b) “ Il re fattolo richiamare indietro, perche era suo familiare, essendo stato oratore in Francia appresso di sua maestà, sorridendo disse: *Ah Ciappon, Ciappon, voi siete un mal Ciappon.*” *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.* This royal equivoque is not worth a translation.

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don, should return to their former obedience; that the sequestration of the effects of the cardinal de' Medici, and his brothers Piero and Giuliano, should be annulled, excepting that the hereditary property of the two younger brothers should remain liable to the debts of the elder. That none of the brothers should approach within a certain distance of the city, which, with regard to Piero, was limited to two hundred miles, and with respect to the cardinal and Giuliano, to one hundred; and, lastly, that Alfonsina Orsini, the wife of Piero, should be allowed to enjoy her dowry, for her separate support. The treaty thus agreed on, was ratified on the following day, being the twenty-sixth of November, in the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where a solemn mass was celebrated, and Charles swore *on the word of a king*, faithfully to observe the conditions of the contract. (a)

The stipulations between Charles and the Florentines being concluded, the citizens expected his immediate departure from Florence; where the conduct of himself and his followers continued to excite great apprehensions. He did not, however, appear to be in haste to prosecute his expedition; and Savonarola was again deputed to request an interview with him, and endeavour to

Charles
VIII. enters
the territo-
ries of the
Church.

(a) "Sub verbo regis." *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 16.* The original treaty yet subsists in the *Bibliotheca Naniana*, at Venice, under the title of, *Capitula et conventiones inter Carolum VIII. regem Francorum et populum Florentinum. Florentiæ, die XXVI. Novembris MCCCCXCIV. jurata in Ecclesia cathedrali, per ipsum regem, et priores dictæ civitatis, apud altare majus, post missæ celebrationem. v. Morellii. MSS. Lat. Bib. Nanianæ, p. 125. Ven. 1776.*

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prevail upon him to quit the city. The arguments of Savonarola on this occasion were of a very peculiar kind. He reminded the king, that, during the four preceding years, he had himself predicted his arrival in Italy; that God had called him to this undertaking, for the reformation of the church; but that unless he manifested greater zeal and activity in the accomplishment of his labours, he would not be found worthy of carrying them into effect, and God would provide other instruments for that purpose. (a) These remonstrances might, perhaps, have lost their effect, had they not been seconded by the earnest solicitations of the vigilant and faithful D'Aubigny, who complained to the king of his imprudence, in neglecting to avail himself of the advantages afforded him, and in allowing his adversaries so fair an opportunity of preparing for their defence. Convinced of the expediency of the measure, Charles immediately prepared for his departure, and on the twenty-eighth day of November quitted the city, to the great joy of the inhabitants, having a few days before issued a manifesto, in which he not only asserted his rights to the kingdom of Naples, but avowed his intentions, after the acquisition of that kingdom, of avenging the injuries which the christian world had sustained from the depredations and cruelties of the Turks. (b) From Florence the king proceeded to Baroncegli; and afterwards, passing through Certosa and Poggibonzi, arrived at Siena, where he spent several days, indulging himself in splendid banquets and licentious

(a) *Nardi, Histor. Fior. lib. i. p. 17.*(b) *Lünig, Codex diplomat. Ital. 2. 1302.*

amours. (a) On quitting the Florentine territories, the French army had defiled through the pass of Valdarno, where it became practicable to estimate its numbers with tolerable accuracy; and it was the common opinion that, including cavalry, infantry, and followers of every description, it amounted to sixty thousand persons. (b) From the Tuscan state, the king advanced without opposition into the territories of the church; and possessing himself of Aquapendente, Viterbo, and other places, despoiled and plundered the inhabitants. At this juncture, Piero de' Medici, having eluded the vigilance of his Venetian guards, hastened through Ancona and Romagna, and made his appearance in the French camp, where he was received with kindness by the king, among whose courtiers he had obtained no inconsiderable share of favour and interest. (c)

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The facility with which Charles was thus permitted to proceed through the centre of Italy, on an expedition so hostile and dangerous to its repose, was not unobserved by many of those eminent literary characters with which it abounded. In particular, the inactivity of the state of Venice, which was then at its highest pitch of power and splendour, excited the surprise of all the true friends to the ancient independence of their coun-

The states
of Italy are
exhorted to
oppose the
progress of
the French.

(a) *Nardi*, lib. i. p. 17.

(b) Alessandro Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, p. 6, states the French army at only twenty-five thousand, viz. Horse, five thousand, Flemish and Swiss, fifteen thousand, and the remainder, infantry of various nations; but besides these, he admits, that there was a considerable number of Italian auxiliaries.

(c) *Nardi*, lib. i. p. 17.

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try. Nor were these sentiments wholly confined to silent lamentation and unavailing regret. About the time that Charles quitted the territory of Florence, an attempt was made by an anonymous individual, to rouse the Italian states to a proper sense of their own dignity, and the dangers of their situation. But his efforts, at this juncture, were necessarily confined only to remonstrance and exhortation, and these he chose to express in the animated language of poetry. His production yet remains, and throws considerable light on the circumstances of the times. (a) Although the

(a) It is written in *terza rima*, and is addressed to the Doge of Venice, Agostino Barbadico. The Italian governments are distinguished by the devices of their arms. "The serpent of the house of Sforza has changed the current of the Tesino, and mingled it with that of the Reno. The Florentine lion, like a dog that has undergone correction, declines his head; and the wolf of Siena has wandered from her usual path." He then calls on the Venetian state to assist the common cause.

Italia, once the praise of every tongue,
Now scarcely drags her languid steps along;
But let thy glorious standard wide unfurl'd,
Tremendous wave before the shrinking world;
And bid thy winged lion, at whose sight
The forest tenants seek the shades of night,
Spread his broad vans, distend his serried jaws,
Shake his strong mane, and ope his sheathed claws;
Ferrara's Hercules shall strive in vain,
Nemean like, to stretch him on the plain;
Though to thy matchless glory adverse still,
His power is only wanting to his will.

The lamentations of the different cities of Italy, are followed by a spirited exhortation to a vigorous and united defence, and the alliance and protection of Alfonso are particularly recommended to the chief of the Venetian republic.

Asserter of Italia's rights and laws,
Do thou defend *Alfonso's* sacred cause,

name of the author be lost, it sufficiently appears, from several passages, that he was one of the Italian *condottieri*, who had been engaged in the service of the state of Venice; and that he had been, on some occasion, for a long time prisoner at Milan. That this composition should, of itself, produce any effect on the conduct of the Italian governments, is not to be supposed; but the opinions of an individual, on great public occasions, are seldom peculiar to himself; that which is ex-

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Nor trust barbarian hordes, whose hearts of steel
Relenting pity never taught to feel;
From foes like these, intent on spoil and strife,
Defend thy country's freedom with thy life;
Nor let the serpent with his scaly train,
Nor Gallic cock, thy native seats profane.

This poem remained in manuscript until the year 1738, when it was given to the public, by the learned Giovambattista Parisotto, in the *Opuscoli* of Calogera, tom. xviii. accompanied with an introductory letter and notes by the editor. He is, however, mistaken, in supposing, that the poem was written *after* Charles VIII. had possessed himself of the kingdom of Naples; it appearing, from several passages, to have been written whilst Charles was on his way through Italy. I. The author mentions Alfonso as king of Naples; but he had abdicated the crown before the arrival of Charles. II. He expressly says, that the French are yet in Tuscany and proceeding towards Rome:

“ —————e già son sopra l'Arno,
E van per ruinar il Coloseo.”

And again,

“ —————fulminando va con gran tempesta,
Verso l'antico suo seggio Romano.”

When the author laments the condition of Romagna—

“ Lacerata dal vulgo aspro e feroce”—

he seems to advert to the progress of the French arms in Romagna, under D'Aubigny, and not to the tumults of the people, or the tyranny of the rulers, as supposed by the editor. With these observations, I shall submit the poem and notes to the reader. *v. Appendix*, No. XXXIII.

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pressed by one, is frequently thought by thousands; and at such times, the publication of a single person is the manifestation of a general sentiment, and often leads to important consequences. (a) It is certain, that from this time the Italian states began to consider with more attention the consequences of this expedition, and to adopt precautions for securing themselves against its effects. And although the king still continued his progress without interruption, yet a combination was speedily formed for intercepting him on his return to France, which, had it been properly conducted, might have caused him to expiate his temerity with the loss, not only of his reputation, but of his life.

(a) Count Bossi has enumerated several other poetical works relating to the irruption of the French into Italy, and published at that period; of some of which he possessed copies. *v. It. Tran.* vol. i. p. 251.*

CHAP. IV.

1494—1495.

ENTRY of Charles VIII. into Rome—Treaty between Charles and the pope—Alfonso II. abdicates the crown of Naples—Indignation of his subjects—Accession of Ferdinand II.—Charles enters the territories of Naples—Ferdinand is betrayed by Trivulzio—Charles VIII. enters the city of Naples, and assumes the government—Contemporary opinions on that event—Charles reduces the fortresses of Naples—Endeavours to obtain from Ferdinand a surrender of his rights—Conduct of Charles at Naples—The exiled family resort to the aid of Ferdinand of Spain—League between the Italian States and the Spaniards—Dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans with Charles VIII.—Coronation of Charles VIII. at Naples—Charles resolves to return to France—Arrives at Viterbo—Siena—Interview with Savonarola at Pisa—Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties—Louis Duke of Orleans claims the duchy of Milan—Massacre of the inhabitants at Pontremoli—Charles passes the Appenines—Is opposed by the allied army under the marquis of Mantua—Prepares for an engagement—Battle of the Taro—Ferdinand II. returns to Naples—Contests between the French and Neapolitans—Expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples—Charles VIII. forms a new alliance with Lodovico Sforza, and returns to France—Consequences of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy.

CHAPTER IV.

As Charles advanced towards Rome, he found that the terror of his arms had every where preceded his approach, and that he had little to dread, either from the force of the allies, or the opposition of the inhabitants. The unexampled serenity of the season, seemed also to concur in favouring his views, whilst the dissensions between the pope and the powerful barons of the Roman state had induced the latter openly to espouse his cause. Inferior in number, and dispirited by their retreat, the Neapolitan troops had intrenched themselves under the walls of Rome, when Alexander VI. alarmed at the approach of the king, and unwilling to risk his safety on the event of an attack, despatched the bishops of Concordia and Terni, and his confessor Gratiano, with proposals to treat, on the part of Alfonso and himself, for a cessation of hostilities. These overtures, as far as regarded the king of Naples, were instantly rejected by Charles, who now saw no difficulty in the accomplishment of his primary object, the expulsion of the family of Aragon ; but the favour of the pope was of no small importance, and he therefore sent the duke de la Tremouille, and the president Guenay, to treat with him, as to his own separate interests. The French deputies were accompanied by the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Prospero Co-

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Entry of
Charles
VIII. into
Rome.

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lonna. The rejection of his first propositions had however induced Alexander to take measures for the defence of the city, and, before their arrival, he had admitted the duke of Calabria, with the Neapolitan troops, within the walls. The cardinal and Colonna were committed to prison; and in the commotions to which these measures gave rise, the French deputies were also seized upon, but were speedily liberated by the orders of the pope. The efforts of Alexander, for the defence of the city, were, however, fruitless. Already the chief nobility had joined the standard of the French monarch. Even Virginio Orsino, grand constable of Naples, whilst he continued in the service of the Aragonese, allowed his son to negotiate with Charles, for the reception of the French into the territories of his family, and for providing them with the necessary supplies. Influenced by the united apprehensions of external force and internal faction, Alexander renewed his treaty with the king, for admitting him with his troops into Rome. The deliberation was short; and the terms being concluded, Charles entered the city on horseback, at the head of his army, on the last day of December, 1494. Alexander had offered to obtain from Charles a safe conduct for the duke of Calabria, through the ecclesiastical state; but Ferdinand rejected the proposal as an indignity, and at the very hour that the king entered the city by the gate of S. Maria del Popolo, the duke evacuated it with his troops, by that of S. Sebastiano. (a)

Notwithstanding the assurances of Charles, that he would treat the pontiff with all the reverence

(a) Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. p. 61, et seq.

which his ancestors had been accustomed to pay to the holy see, Alexander could not, on this occasion, divest himself of his fears; but flying to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by the cardinals Orsino and Caraffa, sought to secure his personal safety. This imprudent timidity had nearly cost him his tiara; as it afforded an opportunity to his adversaries, and particularly to the cardinals della Rovere and Sforza, of influencing the mind of the king, by representing to him the shameful traffic by which the pope had obtained his high dignity, the scandalous enormities of his private life, and his treachery in refusing to surrender the castle of S. Angelo; for which and similar reasons, they contended, that to depose him would not only be an excusable, but a commendable act, and would entitle the king to the gratitude of the christian world. Twice was the artillery of the French brought out to attack the castle; but the crafty pontiff at length found means to pacify the resentment of the monarch; and after long deliberation, a treaty was concluded, which was to be the basis of future union and mutual defence. By this treaty, the pope consented, that Charles should retain possession of Civita Vecchia, and other fortresses in the Roman state, until he had accomplished the conquest of Naples; and promised to dismiss all resentment against the Roman barons who had espoused the cause of the French. In return, the king engaged to restore the pope to his authority in Rome, to perform personal obedience to him, and not to require from him the possession of the castle of S. Angelo. As a pledge for the performance of this treaty, it was further agreed,

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

Treaty
between
Charles and
the pope.

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that Cæsar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, should accompany the king on his expedition; and that Zizim, the brother of the sultan Bajazet, should be consigned to the care of Charles, who should place him in safe custody at Terracina; but the annual payment of forty thousand ducats, transmitted to the pope by the sultan, as a compensation for keeping his brother at Rome, was expressly reserved to the pontiff.^(a) Alexander now ventured to quit his place of refuge, and an interview took place between him and the king, in the gardens of the pontifical palace. On the approach of the pontiff, with his cardinals, Charles twice bent his knees, but the pope pretended not to see him; when, however, he was about to repeat once more this act of submission, the pope, taking off his cap, hastened and prevented him, at the same time saluting him with a kiss. The king then being uncovered, the pope would not replace his cap, until the king had restored his hat to its station, for which purpose the pope, with great civility, applied his hand to it, and they both covered themselves at the same moment. At this meeting it was observable that Charles did not kiss either the feet, or the hand of the pontiff; and there can be no doubt, that Alexander had so contrived it, that he might not be under the necessity of demanding from the king a species of homage, which, in the relative situation of their af-

(a) The minutes or heads of this treaty are given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom. ii. 795.* Du Mont, *Corps diplomat. tom. iii. par. ii. p. 318.* A copy is also preserved at Venice, which appears to be different from that which has been published, *v. Morelli Cod. MS. Bib. Nanianae, p. 126.*

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fairs, it was probable that he might not be inclined to pay. A subsequent interview was, however, appointed for the public reception of the king, at which Charles performed, with due humiliation, the usual ceremonies, and professed, as a dutiful son of the church, his submission and obedience to the holy see. (a)

During the negotiations between the two sovereigns, Charles had endeavoured to prevail upon the pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; but, although Alexander had, under the first impressions of terror, incautiously assented to this request; yet he afterwards excused himself from complying with it, alleging that it affected the rights of others; and only promised that he would consult the college of cardinals, and do all in his power for the satisfaction of the king. (b)

(a) These, and many other particulars respecting the conduct of the king and the pontiff, are related by Burchard in his Diary, an extract from which is given in the Appendix, No. XXXIV.

(b) These circumstances also explicitly appear from the Diary of Burchard above cited, and may serve to correct an error of Guicciardini, who asserts, that the pope consented to invest Charles with the sovereignty of Naples, “investissilo il pontefice del Regno di Napoli,” lib. i. vol. i. p. 64. The long negotiations which afterwards took place on this subject, and which Guicciardini himself relates, and the silence of the treaty on this head, are a full confirmation, if any were yet wanting, of the veracity of Burchard. Respecting the investiture of the French king, it may be proper further to observe, that in the dissertation of M. de Foncemagne, on the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvii. p. 539, that writer has endeavoured to shew, that at the time the pope delivered up the Turkish fugitive, he also invested the French king with the title of *Emperor of Constantinople*. In confirmation of this circumstance, not adverted to by any contemporary historian, he has

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During the time that Charles remained at Rome, which was about the space of a month, he appears to have considered himself as complete master of the city, and to have punished offenders and executed criminals by his own authority. (a) Brissonet, one of his chief favourites and bishop of St. Maloes, was, at this time, honoured with the hat of a cardinal; (b) and we may readily credit Com-

produced and published a document, which purports to be the act of a notary public, transferring the empire of the East from Andrea Paleologus to Charles; said to have been first discovered by the duke De St. Aignan, the French ambassador at Rome, and presented by the pope to Louis XIV. M. de Foncemagne considers it as a French lawyer would a contract for the sale of a house; and, not being able to discover, *that the king appeared before the notary to affirm the contract*, is inclined to doubt its validity. These doubts are increased by the discovery, that, six years afterwards, Paleologus made his will, and bequeathed his empire to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, which it is with great simplicity added, *he could not have done*, had the previous disposition been effectual. I shall only remark on one suspicious circumstance respecting this investiture, viz.: that it purports to bear date, on the eighth day of September, 1494, nearly four months before the arrival of Charles at Rome, and whilst the pope was avowedly hostile to his views. In the present day, when kingdoms are transferred without sufficient ceremony, it may be of use to the gentlemen of the long robe, to have a *precedent* for conveying an empire, by the act of a notary public. This document will be found in the Appendix, No. XXXV.

(a) Soon after his arrival, some of his suite were insulted by the Jews; in consequence of which he ordered the Mareschal de Gies to inquire into the subject, and six of them were hanged in the Campo di Flora. He also erected gallows in different parts of the city, and executed several malefactors:

“ Par quoi l'on peut noter
Que sa puissance etoit bien singulier.”

Vergier d'Honneur.

(b) This was William Brissonet, who with his brother Robert had instigated the king to the war. Alexander VI. had already

mines, when he informs us, that the residence of the king at the palace at S. Marco was the constant resort of all the dignified ecclesiastics and most eminent officers of the city. (a)

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Alfonso II.
abdicates
the crown
of Naples.

It might have been presumed, that the long and frequent delays of the king, in the progress of his expedition, would have been injurious to the success of his cause; but his negligence seems to have been no less favourable to him than his exertions; and whilst he was enjoying his honours and his pleasures in Rome, the inhabitants of many of the districts of Naples, and particularly those of Aquila and Abruzzo, had erected his standard, and only waited his approach to join his arms. At the same time, Fabrizio Colonna, one of his Italian stipendiaries, had occupied, in his name, the territories of Albi and Tagliacozza. But an event yet more important occurred at Naples; where Alfonso, being informed of the approach of the French, and the retreat of the Neapolitan army from Rome, and alarmed at the universal symptoms of disaffection amongst his subjects, resolved to relinquish his crown to his son Ferdinand, and to seek his own safety by flight. He accordingly dictated to Pontano, in the presence of his brother Federigo, and some of the chief barons of the state, the instrument of his renunciation; (b) after which, he se-

sent him the red hat to France, but had withdrawn it, because it was the price for which the bishop was to prevail upon the king to change his thoughts. Now therefore he received it from the hands of the pope, as a recompense from the king. *Frizon, Gallia Purpur.* p. 540. *Note of Mr. Henke*: which confirms the idea, that the pope was, from the first, adverse to the war. *

(a) *Mém. de Commynes*, lib. vi. chap. x. xii.

(b) *Giannone, Storia di Napoli*, lib. xxix. vol. iii. p. 385.

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cretly withdrew himself from the city ; and accompanied only by a few confidential attendants, repaired, under the most evident symptoms of terror, to the harbour, where four galleys were provided for his reception, in which he had privately embarked his most valuable effects. With these he proceeded to the island of Sicily, and arrived at Mazara, a villa which had been given by Ferdinand of Spain to his sister, the queen dowager of Naples, and mother-in-law of Alfonso ; where, in the consciousness of being secure from the pursuit of his enemies, he consoled himself for the loss of his reputation, his country, and his crown.

Indignation
of his sub-
jects.

As Alfonso had, on many occasions, given undoubted proofs of his courage, his sudden flight astonished all Italy. By some it was conjectured, that he intended to proceed to Constantinople, to solicit the aid of the sultan Bajazet, who, as well as himself, was the avowed object of the resentment of the French monarch. With greater probability, others imagined, that he had been induced to this measure, by the consciousness of his own misconduct and cruelty, and the hope that his son Ferdinand, who had not yet attained the twenty-fourth year of his age, and had given no such causes of offence, would be enabled to conciliate the affections of the people ; but the opinion of Commynes was, that he relinquished his crown through mere pusillanimity, for which he assigns, as a reason, that—"no cruel man was ever courageous;" (a) and in this opinion, he was probably followed by

(a) "Mon avis," says honest Commynes, "fut toujours, que ce fut par vraye lascheté ; car jamais homme cruel ne fut hardi." lib. vii. chap. ii. p. 205.

a great majority of those who reasoned on the subject. (a) No sooner, indeed, was the place of his retreat discovered, than the indignation of the Neapolitans was excited to the highest degree ; and in particular those distinguished scholars, who had celebrated his triumphs, and immortalized his name in their works, endeavoured to expiate their error, and prove their abhorrence of his misconduct, by the severest reprehensions. (b) Whilst some were

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(a) It was a common opinion (if, says Guicciardini, we may be allowed not altogether to despise such reports) that the ghost of Ferdinand, the late king, had appeared thrice to the chief surgeon of the court, and on his first visit had mildly requested, but afterwards commanded him with threats, to announce to his son Alfonso, that all attempts to resist the French arms were hopeless : and that it was destined, that, after various misfortunes and the loss of their kingdom, their family should become extinct. The ghost, it seems, explained also the reason of this calamity, which was intended as a just retribution for the enormities committed by the Aragonese against their subjects ; and particularly for the cruelty of Ferdinand, in having, at the instigation of Alfonso, put to death, in the church of S. Leonardo, at Chiaia, near Naples, many of his barons, whom he had long detained in prison. There was, however, no need of a ghost to excite in the mind of Alfonso those terrors, which were the consequences of his guilt, and which, as Guicciardini informs us, with more probability, tormented his dreams with the images of those whom he had slaughtered, and with the ideas of an enraged populace dragging him to punishment. *Guicc. lib. i. vol. i. pp. 65, 66.*

(b) The following production of Sanazzaro, although not expressly applied to this event, in any edition of his works, sufficiently marks the subject on which it was written.

SONNET.

O thou, so long the Muse's favourite theme,
Expected tenant of the realms of light ;
Now sunk for ever in eternal night,
Or recollected only to thy shame !

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expressing their resentment against the fugitive monarch, others were equally earnest in soliciting Charles to hasten his approach. In the Latin verses of Marullus, Italy is represented as mourning his long delay; and Greece, languishing under the scourge of barbarians, expecting with impatience her promised deliverer. (a)

Accession of
Ferdinand
II. who
prepares for
his defence.

Ferdinand II. began his reign in a manner the best calculated to secure himself from the dangers with which he was threatened. He set at liberty

From my polluted page thy hated name
I blot; already on my loathing sight
Too long obtruded; and to purer white
Convert the destin'd record of thy fame.
On thy triumphant deeds far other strains
I hop'd to raise; but thou defraud'st the song;
Ill-omen'd bird, that shun'st the day's broad eye.
Go then, and whilst the Muse thy praise disdains,
Oblivion's flood shall sweep thy name along,
And spotless and unstain'd the paper lie.

The original, with another sonnet, apparently on the same occasion, are given in the Appendix, No. XXXVI.

Antonio Tebaldeo has also adverted to this event in one of his sonnets, more remarkable for good sense than poetry: "If," says he, "a kingdom could have been defended by immense treasures, strong walls, powerful armies, or a commander of acknowledged talents, Alfonso might yet have maintained his sovereignty; but he who would reign in safety, ought to know, that it must be by the love of his subjects, and not by their dread of him; and whoever adopts a different maxim, will, in the end, discover his error." Then, rising to a higher strain, he exclaims—"Eternal disgrace to Italy! shall it then be read, that so powerful a kingdom could not resist the French arms for a single month! When Saguntum was attacked by Hannibal, she defended herself to the last extremity; for death itself is sweet on behalf of a good prince." *v. Appendix, No. XXXVII.*

(a) For the poem of Marullus, addressed to Charles VIII. on this occasion, *v. Appendix, No. XXXVIII.*

such of the nobles as his predecessor had imprisoned; he restored to every person the domains of which he had been arbitrarily deprived, and granted new and extensive privileges to the citizens of Naples. But, whatever might have been the effect of these conciliatory measures, if sooner adopted, they were now too late. The partisans of the French, among whom were most of the chief officers of the government, had pledged themselves too far to retreat; and the hourly expectation of the approach of the enemy had a more powerful effect on the public mind, than either the liberality or the remonstrances of the new sovereign. Ferdinand, however, collected together a body of about six thousand infantry, and fifty troops of cavalry, the principal command of which he intrusted to Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, an Italian *Condottiero* of great eminence, and Nicolo Orsino, count of Pitigliano. With these, he proceeded to S. Germano, which, from its situation, between steep mountains on the one side, and impassable marshes on the other, with the river Garigliano in front, was esteemed one of the keys of the kingdom. At the same time, he also occupied, by a detachment, the pass of Cancella, and gave every indication of his resolution to make a vigorous defence. (a) Nor is it improbable, that if the shameless cowardice, or yet more shameless perfidy, of some of his principal officers had not frustrated his efforts, he might have made an honourable, if not an effectual resistance. (b)

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. i. vol. i. p. 67.

(b) At this juncture, Crinitus wrote a Latin ode, in which he

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In the mean time, Charles had quitted Rome, and proceeded on his route towards Naples, having received information of the abdication of Alfonso, at the moment when he took his departure from

deplores the want of unanimity among the states and people of Italy, and anticipates the approaching calamities of Naples.

Ah why the hated theme recal,
Or bid me sing th' imperious Gaul?
Already tears enough are shed;
Of slaughter'd friends, enough have bled;
Yet, most disgraceful of our woes,
We too confed'rate with our foes;
Our wealth, our strength, to them resign;
And with their hostile standards join.

As thus extends the direful pest,
We perish by ourselves opprest;
And victims of a mutual hate,
Each from the other meet our fate.
Meanwhile, his bands the conqueror calls,
And points to Rome's defenceless walls;
And menaces the sacred band,
That round her holy altars stand;
Whilst the fierce soldier, stain'd with blood,
Hurls his proud spear in Tyber's flood.

O ancient worth, for ever fled!
Oh manes of th' illustrious dead!
Thro' your pale bands what horror moves,
Whilst Jove the adverse cause approves!
Hence what streams of blood shall flow,
What ills shall rise, what fires shall glow;
Whilst Naples mourns to future times,
The victim of another's crimes!
And sinks the Aragonian star,
Before the blazing god of war!
'Tis he directs th' o'erwhelming flood,
And scorns Italia's dastard brood.
Trembling, I mark the dread decree:
—Ah, hapless Naples, woe to thee!

v. Appendix, No. XXXIX.

the city. A short time afterwards, his captive, Zizim, terminated his unfortunate life, in consequence, as some have conjectured, of poison, administered to him by the orders of Alexander VI. before he was delivered up to the king; whilst others have asserted, that his death was occasioned by the inattention of Charles to his personal accommodation. (a) On the arrival of the French,

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Charles enters the territories of Naples.

(a) Sagredo, in his *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi Ottomani*, informs us, that Zizim lived only three days after he was consigned to Charles, and died at Terracina, having been poisoned by Alexander VI. who was induced to commit this crime, by the promise of an immense reward from the sultan Bajazet. "La cieca gentilità," says the historian, "adorò più idoli; a nostri giorni l'idolo universale è l'interesse," p. 97. Guicciardini also informs us, that he was poisoned at the instance of Alexander VI. but mentions Naples as the place of his death, in which last circumstance Corio agrees with him; but accounts for it by the negligence of the French monarch—"per la indiligenza di Carlo." *Stor. Milan.* par. vii. p. 939. This latter account is also confirmed by the testimony of Burchard, who ascertains not only the cause, but the day of his death—15 *Februrier le fils du Grand Turc mourut a Naples—ex esu sive potu non convenienti naturæ suæ et consuetudo*. On this subject, some curious documents remain, from which it appears, that the pope applied to Bajazet to assist him in repelling the attack of the French, and had represented to him that Charles intended to obtain the custody of Zizim, in order to promote his views upon the Ottoman state. In the reply of Bajazet (if so atrocious a production can be considered as authentic) he entreats that the pope will have the goodness to put his brother Zizim to death, in such way as he may judge best, and thereby translate his soul to another state, where he may enjoy greater repose. For this deliberate murder, Bajazet solemnly promises to pay to the pope three hundred thousand gold ducats to enable him to purchase a domain for his sons, and to allow the christians a free intercourse in his dominions. On another occasion Bajazet recommends to the pope a proper person to be honoured with the rank of a cardinal. Such was the fraternal intercourse which at this period subsisted between the Mahometan

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A. Æt. 20.Ferdinand
is betrayed
by Trivul-
zio, and es-
capes to Is-
chia.

at Velletri, it was also discovered, that Cæsar Borgia, had eloped from the army and returned to Rome: and although the pope protested that he was a stranger to this proceeding, and offered to the king any further assurances for his fidelity, it was the general opinion that this event was only preparatory to a change of conduct in the pope, whenever his interest might seem to require it.

The march of the French army towards Naples was marked by cruelty, rapine, and blood. The fortresses of Montefortino and Monte S. Giovanni for a short time retarded their progress; but the attack of their artillery was irresistible, and the soldiers employed in the defence of these places were indiscriminately put to the sword. Apprized of the approach of the French, and apprehensive that his retreat to Naples might be cut off by a detachment under the command of the mareschal De Gies, whom Charles had despatched for that purpose, Ferdinand abandoned his camp at S. Germano, and retired to Capua, so closely pursued by Charles, that he left on the road a part of his artillery; and the intrenchments which he had quitted in the morning, were occupied by the French in the evening. On his arrival at Capua, he received information, that an insurrection had taken place in Naples, which required his personal interference. Committing therefore, the chief command of his army to Trivulzio, he hastened to his capital, intending to return the following day; but no sooner

chief and the head of the christian church! *v. Appendix, No. XL.* For some additional remarks as to the probability that Zizim was poisoned by the pope, see *Henke, Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 214. Bosi, Ital. ed. vol. ii. p. 20.*

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had he left the place, than Trivulzio entered into a treaty with Charles, to surrender the city to him, and join his arms. This act of treachery, which stamps the character of this eminent soldier with indelible disgrace, decided the fate of the kingdom. (a) The Neapolitan troops, throwing off all obedience, and eager to anticipate the plunder of the French, licentiously sacked the place; and the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, who had, under a safe conduct from the king, retired to Nola, were made prisoners. (b) On his return from Naples, Ferdinand was met, at the distance of two miles from Capua, by a deputation of the inhabitants, who apprized him of the calamities which they had suffered. The surrender of this place was followed by that of the other principal cities of the kingdom, which seemed ingloriously to vie with each other, which should first make its submission to the conqueror. Betrayed by his commanders, and abandoned by his subjects, Ferdinand retired

(a) The Cav. Rosmini, in his excellent *Life of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio*, has endeavoured at considerable length to vindicate him against this accusation, and to shew, on the authority of *Rebucco*, the secretary and biographer of Trivulzio, that he had the consent of Ferdinand to quit his service, and to enter into that of the king of France. *Istor. di Gian-Jacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. cap. v. p. 231; cap. xiii. p. 559. Rosmini has observed that I have, in this instance, only adopted the sentiments of Guicciardini, which is very true; and which I still think preferable to that of a domestic, and probably therefore a partial narrator; but the facts sufficiently speak for themselves.*

(b) "Celuy jour mesme, par maniere subtile,
Fut prins a Nosle le domp seigneur Virgile;
Semblablement le conte Petelinne,
Qui aux François cuydoit faire de l'asne."

Vergier d'Honneur.

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A. Æt. 20.

to his residence at *Castel-nuovo*; where, having assembled together many of the principal inhabitants of Naples, he explained to them the motives by which he had been actuated in assuming the royal authority, and lamented that his endeavours to remedy the effects of the severity and misconduct of his ancestors, had been prevented by the calamities of the house of Aragon. He then released them from the oath of fidelity and homage which they had so lately taken to him as their sovereign, and gave them his permission to negotiate with the French monarch for their safety and privileges, in such manner as might seem expedient to them. These sentiments were not heard by the populace without compassion; but all hopes of resisting the approaching torrent, had now vanished; and Ferdinand, being informed that the insurgents in the city had attacked his palace, and being also apprehensive that attempts would be made to seize his person, and deliver him a prisoner to Charles, privately withdrew from the castle, and accompanied by his uncle Federigo, the queen dowager of Naples, widow of Ferdinand I., and her daughter Joanna, effected his retreat to the harbour, whence he proceeded to the island of Ischia. Adversity is the natural parent of resignation, and, as the prospect of his native place vanished from his sight, the fugitive monarch was frequently heard to repeat with the psalmist, "Unless God keep the city, the vigils of the keepers are vain"—(a)

On his arrival at Ischia, an incident occurred which shewed that, notwithstanding his misfor-

(a) ——— "Nisi dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam." v. *Guicciard.* lib. i. 1. 70.

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tunes, Ferdinand was not devoid either of courage or promptitude. On his demanding admission for himself and his followers into the castle, his lieutenant, Giusto della Candina, who had already held secret intelligence with the French, refused to receive them within the walls. A parley took place, in which Candina at length consented that the king should enter alone; probably with an intention of securing his person. The gates were accordingly opened to him; but the lieutenant no sooner made his appearance, than the king, drawing a carbine from beneath his cloak, shot him dead upon the spot. The soldiers, alarmed at the fate of their commander, and awed by the courage of the king, submitted to his authority; and his followers immediately possessed themselves of the garrison.

On the twenty-second day of February, 1495, Charles VIII. entered the city of Naples, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the inhabitants. (a) On this occasion it was observed, that the adherents and favourites of the Aragonese family, who had existed by their liberality, and been exalted by their kindness, were the first to express their attachment to the new sovereign. (b) But similar situations have, in all countries, produced similar instances of ingratitude; and it can occasion no surprise, that the creatures of a court or a faction, who are actuated by no motives but

Charles VIII. enters the city of Naples, and assumes the government of the kingdom.

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. i. 1. 71. *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. vi. chap. xiii.

(b) *Vergier d'Honneur.* Muratori states the number of his army, on his entering Naples, at thirty thousand men; independent of the troops he had left in the Tuscan fortresses, in the states of the church, and the other cities of the Neapolitan state. *Annali*, vol. ix. p. 579.

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those of their own interest, should, under every change, adhere to the same rule of conduct. Before his departure, Ferdinand had committed the command of the *Castel-nuovo* to Alfonso Davalos, marquis of Pescara; who amidst the defection of all the rest of the Neapolitan nobility, continued to defend the place with unshaken fidelity; and Charles, therefore, after visiting the cathedral, was conducted to his apartments in *Castel-Capitano*, the ancient residence of his ancestors of the house of Anjou. Here he received the homage of his new subjects. The Neapolitan barons expressed to him an uniform obedience. The remoter cities and provinces sent deputations to acknowledge their submission to his authority; and, in the course of thirteen days from the time of his departure from Rome, Charles had the satisfaction of finding himself the acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Naples.

Contemporary
opinions on that
event.

The intelligence of this important event was received with very different sensations by the different states of Italy. In Florence, whither the king had sent the new cardinal Brissonet, to solicit the pecuniary aid of the government, it was celebrated with formal processions and ostensible rejoicings. Whatever were the feelings of Alexander VI. he betrayed no external symptoms of dissatisfaction; but contented himself with sarcastically observing, *that the French had over-run Italy with wooden spurs, and conquered it with chalk*; alluding to a custom prevalent among their officers, who, when riding out for their amusement, used only pointed wood instead of spurs; and to the practice of their foragers, who marked with chalk

such houses as were fixed upon for the habitations
of the soldiery. (a) CHAP.
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(a) *Nardi, Vita di Antonio Giacomino Tebaldini Malespini*, p. 18. Fior. 1597. A.D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

The pusillanimous conduct of the Italian states, received, however, a severer reprehension from the pen of Antonio Tebaldeo; who, with honest indignation, has thus recorded the degradation of his country :

SONNET.

Not with so prompt a foot fierce Hannibal
Rush'd o'er thy fields ; nor e'er amid th' alarms
Of Gothic fury and barbarian arms,
Didst thou so tame and unresisting fall!
Ah whence these terrors, that thy sons appal,
Inglorious Italy ! whilst forward springs
The Gallic cock, and claps his conquering wings ;
Nor hears the voice of answering vengeance call ?
Just is thy doom : for now that honour'd earth,
That gave to Scipio and Camillus birth,
Sardanapalus, Midas, Crassus claim.
Once, in thy better days, a cackling goose
From the Tarpeian rock could scare thy foes ;
—Now eagles, serpents, lions—all are tame.

This rude production of a contemporary poet, may at least serve to call to recollection the elegant sonnet of Vincenzo Filicaja, written about two centuries afterwards, during the war of the Spanish succession, when the French and the Imperialists made Italy once more the theatre of their hostilities. For these sonnets, *v. Appendix*, No. XLI.

SONNET.

Italia ! thou to whom in evil hour,
The fatal boon of beauty nature gave,
Yet on thy front the sentence did engrave,
That ceaseless woe should be thy only dower !
Ah were that beauty less, or more thy power !
That he who now compels thee to his arms,
Might gaze with cold indifference on thy charms,
Or tremble at thine eye's indignant lower !

Then

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A. Æt. 20.Charles re-
duces the
fortresses of
Naples.

But although Charles VIII. had thus succeeded in his enterprise against the kingdom of Naples, much yet remained to be done to secure his acquisitions. The *Castel-nuovo*, and *Castello dell' Uovo*, both fortresses of uncommon strength, yet retained their allegiance to their former sovereign. The first attack of the French artillery was upon the *Castel-nuovo*, which surrendered in a few days. The *Castello dell' Uovo* made a longer resistance ; but the impetuous cannonading of the French at length reduced the garrison to the necessity of a capitulation, by which they were suffered to depart in safety, on the thirteenth day of March. (a) The valuable effects contained in these fortresses were distributed by the king amongst his followers, without discrimination ; it having been sufficient to ask, in order to obtain a share of the spoil. (b)

Nor was Charles yet at rest in his new possessions. Whatever might be his pretensions to the crown, the title by which he immediately held it, was his sword ; and Ferdinand, by relinquishing his dominions only to a superior force, was justified in attempting their recovery, whenever an occasion should present itself. Aware of these circumstances, Charles became desirous of enter-

Then shouldst thou not observe, in glittering line,
From the high Alps embattled throngs descend,
And Gallic herds pollute thy Po's clear wave ;
Nor, whilst encompass'd close by spears not thine,
Shouldst thou by foreign hands thy rights defend,
Conquering or conquer'd, evermore a slave.

(a) *Vergier d'Honneur.*

(b) " Il les donna," says Commynes, " a ceux qui les demandoient." *Mém.* liv. vii. chap. xiii.

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ing into a negotiation for the purpose of obtaining from Ferdinand a voluntary resignation of his rights. He therefore addressed a letter to Federigo, uncle of the king, then at Ischia, requesting an interview with him at Naples, and offering four hostages for his return. Federigo accordingly proceeded to Naples, where Charles proposed, that, if the king his nephew would relinquish his crown, he would grant him a territory in France, with a considerable revenue, and would also honourably provide for Federigo, and the rest of the family of Aragon. In reply to this proposition, Federigo did not hesitate to assure the king, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of his nephew, to know that he would assent to no conditions that would deprive him of his crown, or remove him from his subjects. That if these preliminaries could be conceded, he should be ready to enter into further negotiations, but that Ferdinand was determined either to live or die a king. After a second interview, equally fruitless, though conducted with circumstances of apparent respect and civility, Federigo took his departure, and returned to announce the result of his voyage to his nephew, who yet remained at Ischia to wait the issue of it. (*a*)

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Charles endeavours to obtain from Ferdinand a surrender of his rights.

Of the manner in which Charles employed his time during his residence at Naples, an exact diary has been preserved by his faithful attendant, André de la Vigne. But the observation of this humble annalist, has seldom penetrated beyond the external ceremonies and common occurrences

Conduct of
Charles at
Naples.

(*a*) *Guicciard.* lib. i. vol. i. p. 84.

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of the day. We may, however, discover, that the king displayed a rigid punctuality in paying his devotions every morning in some of the churches of Naples, and that he occasionally diversified his amusements, by an excursion to *Poggio Reale*, (a) a seat of the Neapolitan sovereigns, situated at a small distance from the city. The king appears also to have been highly delighted with the wonderful display of courage and agility exhibited by a daughter of the duchess of Melfi; who, in the presence of her mother, rode her courser at full speed, and afterwards went through the various exercises of a cavalier; insomuch, that the annalist assures us, it was a miracle to see a young lady perform such "outrageous feats;" nor can he believe that the warlike dames who opposed the Grecians, at the siege of Troy, could have performed one hundredth-part of what was then represented. On the twenty-third day of April a solemn tournament was proclaimed; which was daily renewed until the first of May; and was attended by many distinguished persons, as well from Florence as other parts of Italy, and

(a) "Il alloit quelquefois," says Commynes, translating the appellation into French, "au Mont imperiale;" which has led his commentator, Denis Sauvage, to conjecture, that he went "en manteau imperiale, pour venir a ce qu'aucuns disent qu'il fut couronné pour empereur de Constantinople." Such is the authority on which an *Historiographer du très Chrétien Roi, Henri II.* would imply the pretensions of the French monarchs to the empire of the east! v. *Mém. de Comm.* lib. vii. chap. xiv. This palace was built by Alfonso, duke of Calabria, on his return from his successful expedition against the Turks at Otranto. A very curious account of it is given in the *Vergier d'Honneur* of André de la Vigne. v. *Appendix*, No. XLII.

honoured by the presence of the ladies of Naples. (a) The royal hand was however employed with more safety, if not with more efficacy, in touching those affected with the evil, who sought, in the condescension of the king, a remedy for their sufferings. Thus prone have the sovereigns of the world generally been, to disregard those calamities which they might have alleviated, and to attempt the relief of those which are beyond their power to cure. On paying his devotions in the church of St. Januarius, the head of the martyr was exhibited to him, and the vessel produced which contained a portion of his blood, which appeared consolidated, like a stone; but on being touched by the king with a silver wand, and placed on the altar before the head of the saint, it began to dissolve, grow warm, and boil, to the astonishment of Charles and his attendants, who were assured that this blood was privy to the secrets of heaven, and never dissolved but at the prayers of the just. (b)

Whilst the French monarch was thus consuming, in the most abject superstition, or the most puerile amusements, that time which he ought to have devoted to the regulation and government

The exiled family obtain the assistance of Ferdinand of Spain.

(a) "Et apres disner alla le roy aux lices, ou se devoient faire les joustes, et la trouva le roy plusieurs grans seigneurs, tant de Florence que d'Italie, et des dames du pays, especielllement de Napples; et furent faites les dictes joustes en une grant rue, pres le chasteau-nouve, devant une eglise, fondée des rois de Cecille (Sicily); c'est a scavoir de ceulx d'Anjou. Et durerent les dictes joustes des le Mecedry, xxiii. jour d'Avril, jusques au premier jour de Mai. Et se nommerent les tenans du dedans des dictes joustes *Chastillon et Bourdillon.*" *Verg. d'Honneur.*

(b) *Vergier d'Honneur.*

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of his newly acquired dominions, Ferdinand had proceeded from the island of Ischia to Sicily, to consult with his father, Alfonso, on the most likely measures for restoring the fortunes of the family. He found him at Messina, in a convent, surrounded by monks, passing his days in abstinence, and his nights in prayer. The result of their deliberations was such as appeared likely to answer the immediate purpose for which they were intended, the expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples; but, in dangerous situations, there is nothing so much to be apprehended as the recurring to expedients which are worse than the existing evil; and a serious consideration would have shewn them, that of all the means of assistance, the support and interference of Ferdinand of Spain was the most to be deprecated. The motives by which they were induced to have recourse to his protection, are not indeed difficult to be discovered. Ferdinand was already possessed of the island of Sicily; (a) and the vicinity of so powerful a neighbour as the French monarch, who was avowedly meditating fresh conquests, could not fail to excite in his mind apprehensions for its ultimate safety; whilst the near relationship that subsisted between him and the royal house of Naples, might be supposed to induce him to take a personal interest in their misfortunes. But, whilst the abdicated and exiled

(a) Dr. Robertson is mistaken in asserting that Ferdinand "acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, by violating the faith of treaties, and disregarding the ties of blood." *Hist. of Charles V.* book i. Ferdinand having succeeded to the undisputed sovereignty of Sicily, on the death of his father, John, king of Aragon and Sicily, the brother of Alfonso I.

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monarchs were thus flattering themselves with the advantages to be derived from his support, they ought also to have considered, that this ambitious and politic prince was the unquestionable legitimate heir of Alfonso I. king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples ; and that he might naturally regard as a derogation of his hereditary rights, the bequest of the crown of Naples by Alfonso, to his illegitimate son, Ferdinand I. the grandfather of its last possessor. It is true he had not only long acquiesced in this separation of the dominions of his house, but had married his sister to his cousin, Ferdinand I. But as the fortunes of the Neapolitan branch declined, the strength and resources of the Spanish house had increased ; and it might, therefore, justly have been suspected, that its representative might now assert his claims, which had been suffered to remain so long dormant, not perhaps from his moderation, but from his inability to enforce them. These obvious suggestions were, however, overlooked, or disregarded, in the panic occasioned by the invasion of the French ; and the fatal resolution was adopted of applying to Ferdinand of Spain for his assistance. Bernardo Bernaudo, secretary to the king of Naples, was the ambassador employed on this occasion. He was received with great attention. The Spanish monarch had not observed with indifference the progress of the French arms in Italy, but had already intimated to Charles, that he should consider his attack on the kingdom of Naples as an act of hostility against himself. He had indeed engaged, by a solemn oath, not to interfere in this contest ; but on examining the purport of

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this engagement it was discovered, that it contained a reservation of the rights of the church, which it was contended would be materially affected by the proceedings of Charles VIII. and besides, the restriction against the interference of the Spanish monarch was on condition, that Charles was rightfully entitled to the crown of Naples; a proposition which it was as easy to deny as to assert. A powerful armament was therefore provided, the command of which was given to Gonzalvo Fernandez, a native of Cordova, of the family of Aguilar, a commander of acknowledged talents, courage, and experience; who immediately repaired to Sicily, to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require; and, by his subsequent victories, converted the appellation of *The great Captain*, originally used by his countrymen merely to designate his authority, into a title which has ever since been attached to his name, as expressive of his superior abilities and virtues.

League between the Italian states for opposing the French.

Nor was the progress of the French arms regarded without jealousy and dread by the other states of Italy; and particularly by the person who had been the first and most active promoter of the enterprize, the restless Lodovico Sforza. The extraordinary talents of this misguided politician, like sharp implements in the hands of an awkward artificer, not only defeated his intended purpose, but in the result generally proved injurious to himself. Even before the arrival of Charles at Naples, Lodovico had entered into negotiations with the senate of Venice, for intercepting and cutting him off on his return to France; and on the last day of March, 1495, a league was

concluded at Venice, among the Italian states, under the specious pretext of the defence of their dominions, and the protection of christendom against the Turks, but in fact to oppose the French monarch on his return from Naples. (a) This combination, which was called the holy league, was acceded to, not only by the states of Venice and of Milan, but by Alexander VI. who eagerly availed himself of any opportunity that might protect him against the dreaded power of the French. The emperor elect, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain, were also parties to the convention; and those ideas of a balance of power, by which the Italians had regulated their respective governments, were thus extended to the countries beyond the Alps. (b) But whilst the ostensible views of this powerful combination were industriously laid before the world, it was secretly pro-

(a) Machiavelli thus animadverts on the conduct of Lodovico, on this occasion, in his first *Decennale* :

“ Conobbe allor la sua stultitia certa ;
E dubitando cader nella fossa
Che con tanto sudor s’havea aperta,
Nè li bastando sua natural possa,
Fece quel Duca, per salvare il tutto,
Co’l Papa, Imperio, e Marco, testa grossa.”

It is amusing to observe with what simplicity Philip de Commines, who was then ambassador of the French king at Venice, relates the manner in which he was imposed upon by the artifices of the Venetian Doge and senators, who flattered him with personal attentions, and assurances of amity, till this formidable league, which he had the mortification to see proclaimed with extraordinary magnificence at Venice, was fully completed. This narration, which occupies the 15th chapter of his seventh book, is highly interesting, and deserves an attentive perusal.

(b) This treaty is preserved in *Lünig, Codex Italiae diplomaticus*, tom. i. p. 111.

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posed, that they should unite their forces in divesting Charles VIII. of the conquest which he had so easily obtained. To this end it was agreed that the Spanish monarch should assist his relations of the house of Aragon, in the recovery of their dominions; that the Venetians should send a powerful naval armament to occupy the ports of the kingdom of Naples; and that Lodovico Sforza should oppose the arrival of further succours to the French through the states of Milan. It was also stipulated, that considerable sums of money should be advanced to Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain, to enable them to carry an effective war into the provinces of France. To the completion of this league, the concurrence of the other states of Italy was highly desirable; but the duke of Ferrara, with true Italian policy, whilst he permitted his son Alfonso to join the allies at the head of a body of horse, as a stipendiary to the duke of Milan, professed his determination to adhere to his former engagements; and the Florentines, well aware that, in case of hostilities, they would be the first to experience the resentment of the French monarch, and not less jealous of the power of the Venetians than of the success of the French, refused to become parties to the convention. (a)

Dissatisfac-
tion of the
Neapolitans
with Charles
VIII.

The exultation which the Neapolitans had expressed on the arrival of a new sovereign, was not of long continuance. Notwithstanding the privileges and exemptions granted by Charles to particular cities, which had been the first to acknowledge his authority, the people soon per-

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. ii. vol. i. p. 89.

ceived their error, in exchanging the well-regulated, though severe government of the house of Aragon, for the licentious misrule of the French. The great barons of the realm, instead of receiving those favours which they expected as the reward of their ready submission, were deprived of their offices and their domains, which, with the exception of two or three instances, were conferred by Charles, with indiscriminate liberality, upon his ablest generals, and his most worthless dependants. (a) The French soldiery, dispersed through different parts of the country, were restrained by no considerations of either humanity, honour, or decency; and the Italian writers have complained, that even the sanctuaries of religious chastity were not always a sufficient protection against their brutal violence. (b) Under these circumstances it can occasion no surprise, that the Neapolitans should have conceived a speedy aversion to their new governors; and Guicciardini might with safety have rested their dissatisfaction on the general principles of human nature, without seeking for it in the levity and instability of the people. (c)

(a) "Tous etats et offices," says Commynes, "furent donnés aux François, a deux ou trois." I suspect that Giannone has misunderstood this passage, when he says, "Tutte le autorità e carichi furono conferiti a due o tre Franzesi." *Storia di Napoli*, lib. xxix. chap. ii.

For a very just account of the general character of the French in their conquests, v. *Robertson's History of Scotland*, book ii. vol. i. p. 128.

(b) Corio, *Storia di Milano*, parte vii. p. 939. *Benedetti, Fatto d'arme sul Tarro*, p. 9, b.

(c) "Tale è la natura de' popoli, inclinata a sperare più di

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Coronation
of Charles
VIII. at
Naples.

No sooner did Charles receive information of the formidable league, so unexpectedly formed between the princes of Italy and the other European states, than he instantly became sensible of the dangers of his situation, and was no less impatient to quit his newly acquired dominions,

quel che si debbe, ed a tollerare manco di quel che è necessario, e ad avere sempre in fastidio le cose presenti ; e specialmente degli habitatori del regno di Napoli, i quali, tra tutti i popoli d'Italia, sono notati di instabilità, e di cupidità di cose nuove." *Guicciard.* lib. ii. vol. i. p. 90.

That the Neapolitans should express their aversion cautiously, under the immediate pressure of a military government, cannot be surprising ; yet the voice of complaint was not wholly silent, and the following lines of Crinitus, addressed to Bernardo Caraffa, one of the chief nobility of Naples, may be considered as the expression of a national sentiment. *v. Appendix, No. XLIII.*

ODE.

Thy sad lament, my friend, forbear ;
Nor longer pour the fruitless tear ;
Enough to patriot sorrows given,
Think not to change the doom of heaven.

We feel the fates, and own their sway,
Whilst NAPLES sinks, a hapless prey ;
Her iron bondage doom'd to mourn,
Till that auspicious hour return,

When to his native soil restored,
She hails again her former lord ;
Him who recals her ancient fame,
And vindicates her honour'd name.

Yet when that happier dawn shall rise,
My mortal vision ill describes ;
And dubious is the voice divine,
Responsive from Apollo's shrine.

But, hark ! along the sounding poles,
Signal of hope, the thunder rolls ;
And soon th' avenging bolt shall fall
That checks the fury of the GAUL.

and return to France, than he had lately been to possess himself of the crown of Naples. He now perceived that the treaties, which he had with so much precaution, and by so many sacrifices, concluded with European sovereigns, had served no other purpose than to lead him into a snare, from which he could not expect to extricate himself without great difficulty. The desertion of Lodovico Sforza convinced him that no reliance was to be placed upon his Italian allies, and that his only hopes of safety must rest on the courage of his army, in forcing his way through the hostile states of Italy. Critical, however, as his situation might be, he was unwilling to quit the city of Naples without the ceremony of a coronation. With this view he despatched an envoy to the pope, to endeavour, by the assurance of his protection and favour, to detach him from his new allies, and induce him to grant the bull of investiture. But Alexander, who had refused to assent to his request, when he occupied Rome at the head of a victorious army, was not likely, after the alliances which he had lately formed, to comply with his wishes. (a) This disappointment did

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(a) Summonte, *Storia di Napoli*, lib. vi. p. 517 (581), and after him Giannone, (lib. xxix. cap. ii. p. 389), positively assert, that the pope, alarmed by the threats of the king, expedited to him the bull of investiture, and appointed a legate, who performed the office of coronation. It is, however, highly probable, that these two judicious and national historians, have on this occasion fallen into an error. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme sul Tarro*, asserts, that Alexander positively refused to comply with the request of the king; in consequence of which Charles, forgetting his expedition to Jerusalem, threatened to overturn the governments of Italy, and the dominion of the pope, p. 9. The negative opi-

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not, however, deter Charles from displaying to the Neapolitans, before his departure, a splendid pageant. On the twelfth day of May, the princes and chief nobility, both of France and Naples, and the great barons from other parts of Italy, assembled at *Poggio Imperiale*, and accompanied the king in a solemn procession into the city of Naples, where he made his public entry, as king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was clad in an imperial mantle ; the crown on his head ; in his right hand he held the ball of gold, the proud symbol of universal empire ; in his left the sceptre. The canopy was supported by some of the first nobility of Naples. Gilbert de Bourbon, duke de Mompensier, appeared as lieutenant-general, and viceroy of the kingdom. Among those who were habited in royal mantles, as related to the king, were Philip de Bresse, afterwards duke of Savoy, Monsieur de Foix, Monsieur de Luxembourg, and Monsieur de Vendosme. As he entered the city, he was met by great numbers of the nobility and chief inhabitants, with their wives, who presented to him their children, from the age of eight to sixteen, requesting that he would grant

nion is also strongly confirmed by the French annalists. Commynes coldly informs us, that the king was crowned, liv. vii. chap. 14 ; and André de la Vigne, although he minutely describes the ceremony in which Charles swore to maintain the rights of the people, and enumerates the chief of the French nobility who were present on that occasion, neither notices the papal investiture, nor even asserts that any coronation took place. The subsequent flight of Alexander, on the second visit of the king to Rome, may also be admitted as an additional proof, that he had not complied with the wishes of the king in granting his sanction for the coronation.

them the honour of knighthood, with which he readily complied. Jean Daunay performed on this occasion the office of champion; he was drest in complete armour, and was mounted on a horse richly caparisoned. If we may believe de la Vigne, the citizens of Naples confessed they had never before beheld so accomplished a cavalier. Proceeding to the cathedral, the king approached the great altar, where he promised, under the sanction of a solemn oath, to maintain the rights of his new subjects, and was gratified by the temporary assurances of their loyalty and allegiance. (a) On this occasion the celebrated Pontano is said to have addressed the king, as the orator of the people of Naples; and the tenor of his discourse, which was supposed to inculcate the unfortunate monarchs of the house of Aragon, by whom he had been uniformly favoured and protected, has stained his character with the indelible blot of ingratitude. As this oration has not reached the present times, it is not easy to determine how far the accusation against him is well founded; but the circumstance, if true, is itself unfavourable to the fame of the Neapolitan scholar, and it may readily be inferred, that if he undertook an office so inconsistent with his own honour, he would not display much delicacy in its execution. (b)

(a) The narrative of this transaction, from the Vergier d'Honneur, is given in the Appendix, No. XLIV.

(b) It was most probably also on this occasion, that Raffaello Brandolini, called *Lippo Brandolini il giovane*, made a panegyric oration before the king, which he immediately turned into verse; on which Charles is said to have exclaimed, *Magnus orator, summus poeta!* It is certain that the monarch conferred on Raffaello a pension of one hundred crowns, and gave him an honourable

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Charles re-
solves to re-
turn to
France.

But although Charles did not think proper any longer to hazard his own person in the defence of his newly acquired dominions, he judged it expedient to leave a part of his troops, under the command of his most able generals, in possession of the capital, and of the fortresses of the kingdom, with assurances, that he would not only supply them with the necessary means of defence, but would shortly return into Italy, at the head of a more powerful army. Of all the measures adopted by Charles on this expedition, and which Commynes uniformly represents as a series of errors and absurdities, this, upon which he makes no comment, was the most imprudent, and proved in the event the most destructive. Had he concentrated his strength in Naples, and endeavoured to obtain the speediest reinforcements, either by the passes of the Alps, or by means of his fleet, it would have given confidence and security to his adherents, and enabled him to defend himself against the meditated attack ; or, had he determined to relinquish his conquests as untenable, he might have returned at the head of his troops, if not with honour, at least with safety to his own dominions ; but by dividing his forces,

diploma, which bears date at Castel Capuano, the 18th May, 1495 ; in which he assigns as a reason for his bounty, the services which Raffaello had rendered and might yet render to the king, and that he might be enabled to pursue his studies to advantage. In this diploma he is said to have been *cæcus a nativitate* ; but Mazzuchelli conjectures from his appellation of Lippo, that he was not born blind. *v. Mazz. Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. vi. p. 2018, *tit. Brandolini*. It is indeed not improbable that Brandolini, and not Pontano, made the oration before the king on his coronation at Naples.

he exposed his own person to the danger of an attack from the superior numbers of his enemies, which had nearly proved fatal to him, and left the remainder of his troops to support a hopeless and destructive contest with the arms of the allies, and the partisans of the house of Aragon. On quitting the capital, he entrusted the command of his forces to the duke de Mompensier; who, notwithstanding his indolence, or his levity, had served his master on all occasions with courage and fidelity. (a) D'Aubigny, who had been recompensed for his labours with the states of Acri and Squillazzo, and the title of grand constable of Naples, was appointed to the chief command in Calabria. The strong holds of the kingdom were intrusted by Charles to his most experienced commanders. Of the Italian nobility, the family of Colonna availed themselves the most effectually of his bounty, and were appointed to the chief offices of the state; and it was supposed to be at their request, that Charles retained as prisoners the count of Pitigliano and Virginio Orsino, the chiefs of the rival family of that name, who had been arrested whilst under the sanction of a safe conduct from the king. These favours did not, however, secure the fidelity of his Roman allies, who had already entered into a secret correspondence with his enemies, and on his departure, were the first to oppose his authority; not perhaps, as Commynes asserts, without cause, but because they were aware that the king, by the

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(a) "Bon chevalier et hardy," says Commynes, "mais peu sage. Il ne se levoit qu'il ne fût midi." *Mém.* liv. viii. chap. i. p. 217.

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IV. authority of its necessary support. (a)

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Proceeds
with his ar-
my through
the Roman
territories.

On the twentieth day of May, 1495, Charles quitted Naples, and proceeded directly towards Rome. He was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, at the head of one hundred lances, three hundred Swiss infantry, one thousand French, and an equal number of Gascons. Commynes estimates his force at nine thousand men; all of whom, as he informs us, were young, and in high spirits, fully persuaded that they should meet with no opponents able to take the field against them. Alexander VI. was too sensible of the offences which he had committed, in joining the alliance, and refusing the bull of investiture, to trust for his safety to the assurances of the king; and being apprized of his approach, quitted the city two days before the arrival of the French, and fled to Orvieto, leaving the cardinal S. Anastasio, as his legate, to receive the French monarch with due honour. The rest of the college of cardinals accompanied the pope; who was also escorted by two hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and three thousand infantry. (b) Charles, after paying his devotions at the great altar of St. Peter's, (c) speedily quitted the city without offering any violence to the inhabitants, and directed his course towards

(a) *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. i. pp. 217, 218.

(b) *Guicciard*. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 94.

(c) "Lundy premier de Juing le roy entra dedans Romme, et fut logé au palais du cardinal Saint Clement, * * * * et incontient qu'il fut a Romme, ainsi que bon et loyal catholique, il alla en l'eglise de Monsieur Saint Pierre de Romme, faire ses offrandes," &c. *Vergier d'Honneur*.

Viterbo; in consequence of which the pope left CHAP. IV.
 Orvieto, and passed on to Perugia, whence it was
 his intention, if the king approached, to retire to A. D. 1495.
 Ancona, and take shipping for some other part of A. Æt. 20.
 Italy.

Charles arrived at Viterbo on the fifth day of Arrives at Viterbo.
 June, and remained there until the eighth day of
 the same month, during which time he availed
 himself of the opportunity of seeing the body of
 S. Rosa, which the priests shewed him in real flesh
 and blood, assuring him she was only in a trance. (a)
 He here received intelligence that his advanced
 guard had met with some resistance at Toscanella,
 a fortified town belonging to the pope, in conse-
 quence of which they had taken the place by storm,
 and plundered it, with the slaughter of about six
 hundred of the inhabitants; an event which is said
 to have given him great dissatisfaction; as he was
 desirous of passing through the territories of the
 church in as pacific a manner as possible.

On the approach of the king towards Siena, he Arrives at Siena.
 was met by a deputation of the chief inhabitants,
 who conducted him into the city; where he was
 received with great honour, and remained for se-
 veral days, attracted by the charms of female beauty,
 and gratified by the sumptuous banquets prepared
 for him. He had here an interview with his am-
 bassador, Philip de Commines, then just arrived
 from Venice; whom he questioned with apparent
 jocularitv, but perhaps not without real anxiety,
 as to the preparations made for opposing his re-

(a) “ Et apres la grant messe alla veoir le corps de madame
 Sainte Rose, qui repose au dit Viterbe en chair et en os, et n'est
 que transie.” *Vergier d'Honneur.*

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turn. (a) The answer of Commynes was not calculated to allay his apprehensions. He assured the king that he had been informed by the senate, that the united army of the Venetians and the duke of Milan, would amount to forty thousand men ; but that they were intended to act only on the defensive, and would not pass the river Oglio, unless the king should attack the states of Milan. Commynes availed himself of this opportunity to entreat the king to hasten his departure, before his enemies could have assembled their forces, or received succours from the emperor elect, who was reported to be raising considerable levies ; but Charles suffered himself to be detained by a negotiation with the deputies of Florence, who met him at Siena, and solicited, with the utmost eagerness, the restoration of Pisa ; offering not only to pay the contribution stipulated in the treaty, but to advance him seventy thousand ducats as a loan, and to despatch their *Condottiero* Francesco Secco, with three hundred men at arms, and two thousand infantry, to attend him, until his arrival at Asti. The more prudent part of his followers earnestly advised the king to accede to so advantageous a proposal ; but the prince de Ligny, a young man, his cousin and favourite, having observed, that it would be a pity to deliver up the people of Pisa into the power of their tyrants, Charles, acting under the impulse of his feelings, and disregarding at once his interest and his oath, rejected the offer. (b) In like opposition to the advice of his most judicious counsellors, but at the request of

(a) *Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 218.(b) *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.

some of the inhabitants of Siena, he appointed the prince de Ligny governor of that place; who deputed his authority to Monsieur de Villeneuve as his lieutenant, with whom the king left an escort of three hundred men; thereby diminishing his forces at this critical juncture, without the possibility of deriving from it the slightest advantage. In fact the governor and his attendants were expelled the city in less than a month from his departure. (a)

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It appears to have been the intention of Charles to have proceeded from Siena to Florence; for which purpose he advanced as far as Campana, a small town at no great distance from that city; (b) but on his arrival there, he found that, although the Florentines had made preparations to receive him with due honour, they had collected a considerable number of troops, and had filled the city with armed men. These precautions were perhaps not so much to be attributed to their apprehensions from the king, as to their dread of the restoration of the authority of the Medici. They were already apprized that Piero had attached himself to the cause of the French, and that he was then actually in the camp; (c) and they justly feared, that if he were admitted within the walls, he might avail himself of their assistance to regain his former ascendancy. Unwilling to engage in a contest, Charles changed his intentions, and directed his course towards Pisa. In his route he passed through the town of Poggibonza, where he had an interview with the

Interview
with Savonarola at
Pisa.

(a) *Mém. de Commines*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.

(b) *André de la Vigne, Vergier d'Honneur*.

(c) *Guicciard*. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 98.

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monk Savonarola, who had been sent by the Florentines, for the express purpose of prevailing upon him to deliver up to them the city of Pisa, and the other fortified places of Tuscany, which had been conditionally entrusted to him. The persuasions of Savonarola were accompanied by threats and denunciations, that if the king violated the oath which he had sworn, with his hand on the evangelists, and in the sight of God, he would incur the wrath of heaven, and meet with a merited punishment; but these representations, although urged by the fanatic with his usual vehemence, seem to have been little regarded by Charles; who at some times undertook to restore the places, and at others alleged, that prior to his oath, he had promised the citizens of Pisa to maintain their liberty; (a) thus availing himself of the inconsistent engagements made with each of the contending parties to frustrate the requisitions of both.

Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties.

On the arrival of Charles at Pisa, the same solicitations and entreaties, with which he had been assailed in his route towards Naples, were again renewed with additional importunity, and no measures were omitted, which might induce him to take the inhabitants under his protection, and enable them to throw off the hateful yoke of the Florentines. In fact, the spirit of political independence was never more strongly evinced by any people than by the inhabitants of this place; who already began to manifest that inflexible disposition, which supported them through the long and severe trial which they were destined to undergo. The streets of the city were lined with escutcheons and bannerets of the arms of France; the

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. ii. vol. i. p. 98.

principal citizens, with all their attendants, were ready to receive the king ; and the children, dressed in white satin, embroidered with the *fleurs de lys*, saluted him with the exclamations of *Vive le Roi—Vive la France !* As he proceeded towards the bridge, an emblematical exhibition was prepared, on a scaffold decorated with rich tapestry, which represented a figure, mounted on horseback, completely armed, so as to resemble a king of France. His mantle was strewed with lilies, and in his hand he held a naked sword, the point turned towards Naples. Under the feet of his horse were the figures of a lion and of a large serpent, intended to represent the states of Florence and of Milan. On the following day, the king was formally requested, by a large body of the inhabitants, to take the city under his protection ; but his answer was, as usual, equivocal and unsatisfactory. Those assurances, which the citizens could not obtain, were next solicited by their wives and daughters ; who, cloathing themselves in mourning, proceeded, bare-footed, through the streets, towards the apartments of the king ; and, being admitted to his presence, supplicated, with loud cries and exclamations, his compassion on their husbands, fathers, and children, entreating him to protect them against their oppressors. (a) In his reply, Charles assured them of his affection for the inhabitants of Pisa, and promised so to arrange matters, that they should have reason to be perfectly satisfied. The method which he took for this purpose, was to garrison the citadel with French soldiers, the command of whom he en-

(a) *Vergier d'Honneur.*

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trusted to D'Entraghes, one of the most profligate of his followers; (a) who, without regarding either the honour of his sovereign, or the wishes of the inhabitants, availed himself of the first opportunity of converting his trust to the purposes of his own emolument.

Louis, duke
of Orleans, [†]
claims the
duchy of
Milan.

After remaining six or seven days at Pisa, Charles proceeded through Lucca and Pietra Santa, to Sarzana. (b) On his arrival there, he received information that the Genoese had shewn a disposition to free themselves from the dominion of the duke of Milan, whereupon he despatched the duke de Bresse, with one hundred and twenty men at arms, and five hundred infantry, to encourage the attempt; which was also to be supported by the French fleet. The Genoese, however, retained their fidelity; the fleet was wholly defeated and captured at Rapallo; and the duke de Bresse with difficulty effected a junction with the king at Asti, when it was too late to render him any service. In the mean time the duke of Orleans had not only secured the town of Asti, through which Charles was necessarily to pass, but having also captured the city of Novara, a part of the territory of Milan, had began to set up his hereditary pretensions, as a descendant of the Visconti, to the dominion of that duchy.

(a) "Un appelé Entragues, homme bien mal conditionné:" says Commynes, liv. viii. chap. iii.

(b) At Lucca, says André de la Vigne, the king

"Fut festie moult honnorablement,
En submettant la ville entierement:
Les corps, les biens des hommes et des femmes,
A son plaisir et bon commandement,
Pour le servir de cueur, de corps, et dames."—

The advanced guard of the French army was led by the marshal de Gies, who was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In approaching the fortified town of Pontremoli, advantageously situated at the foot of the Appenines, and which was garrisoned with three or four hundred soldiers, some resistance was expected; but on the approach of the French, the place was surrendered without the necessity of an attack. On the troops being admitted within the town, a quarrel however arose between some of the inhabitants and a party of German soldiers in the service of the French, in which about forty of the latter lost their lives; a circumstance which so exasperated the rest of their countrymen, that they not only attacked and massacred the inhabitants, but set fire to the place. By this act of barbarity they consumed a considerable quantity of provisions, of which the French army then stood in the greatest need. This outrage, which it was not in the power of the marshal de Gies to prevent, was highly resented by the king; not only on account of the loss of the necessary supplies, at a time when his troops were almost perishing for want, but of the disgrace which it attached to his arms; (a) and it was only in consequence of a most essential service, which the German auxiliaries soon afterwards rendered to him, that they were restored to his favour.

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Massacre of
the inhabi-
tants of
Pontremoli.

Having quitted Sarzana, Charles now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, near the town of Villa

Charles
passes the
Appenines.

(a) "Tant pour la honte, qu'à cause de grans vivres qui y estoient," says Commynes, liv. viii. chap. 4, a passage which is perfectly intelligible; although his commentator, Sauvages, suggests the alteration of *honte* to *bonté*.

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Franca; having consumed nearly six weeks in his march from Naples, at a time when his safety chiefly depended upon his passing the mountains, before his enemies had assembled a sufficient force to oppose his progress. The same good fortune which had attended him on his descent to Naples, seemed, however, to accompany him on his return, and frequently reminded his annalist, Commynes, of an interview which he had at Florence with Savonarola; in whose predictions he appears to have placed great confidence; and who assured him, "That God would conduct the king in safety, without the loss of his honour; but that, as a punishment for his neglecting the reformation of the church, and indulging his soldiers in their licentiousness, he must feel a stroke of the scourge." (a) In ascending the mountains, the army deviated from its former track, and inclined to the right, towards Parma, where they met with steep acclivities, which rendered the conveyance of their artillery, of which they had about forty heavy pieces, a labour of extreme difficulty. On this occasion the German auxiliaries offered their services to the king, to transport the cannon by their own labour, provided he would restore them to his favour. Yoking themselves in couples, like beasts of burthen, one or two hundred to a piece of artillery, and aided by such horses as could be spared, they at length reached the summit of the mountains; but the danger and difficulty of descending were not less than those which they had experienced in the ascent, on account of the frequent precipices which they were obliged to pass; and which in-

(a) *Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.

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duced several of the officers to advise the king to destroy his artillery, in order to expedite his progress ; but to this he would by no means consent. It is however certain, that without the aid of the Germans, the difficulties of conveying the artillery over these rugged and trackless wilds, would have been wholly insurmountable.

Charles had now passed the summit of those hills which form the northern extremity of the Appenines, and was winding his array through the steep and narrow defiles of the mountains ; when, as the plains of Lombardy opened upon his sight, he perceived, at the distance of a few miles, the tents and pavilions of a numerous army, assembled by the allies, to oppose his progress. Of this army, the chief command was entrusted to Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, who was assisted by his uncle Ridolfo, a soldier of acknowledged honour and great experience. Under the marquis, several of the most celebrated generals in Italy led the different bodies of which the allied army was composed. The number is variously stated by contemporary authors. If we may credit the Italian writers, the amount scarcely exceeded that of the French ; but Commines estimated them at the least at thirty-five thousand men.

Is opposed
by the allied
army under
the marquis
of Mantua.

The allied army had already occupied an eminence on the banks of the river Taro, one of the numerous streams of the Appenines, which discharge themselves into the Po, between Parma and Piacenza. (a) At the distance of about three

(a) Cornazzano, in one of his sonnets, enumerates twenty of these tributary rivers ; and he might have recorded as many more :

“ Non

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miles from the Italian camp, the advanced guard of the French took possession of the small town of Fornova. From this place the marshal de Gies despatched a messenger to the allied army, requesting that the king might be allowed to pass without interruption to his own dominions, and might be supplied with provisions, for which he was willing to pay. On the arrival of the main body of the French army, which encamped on the banks of the river, between that of the allies and the town of Fornova, these demands were repeated; and Commynes, who was personally acquainted with the Venetian commissaries, was directed to forward the negotiation. Commynes, whilst he undertook the commission, told the king, with great sincerity, that he had little hopes of success, as he had never known two such large armies, so near to each other, quit the field without a trial of their strength. (a) Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture; for the commissaries, after consulting the chief officers, returned for answer, that they could not consent to any pacification, unless the king would first lay down his arms, and consent to restore to the duke of Milan the city of Novara, and to the pope the different places in the papal territories which had been occupied by his arms.

A contest was now unavoidable, and both parties prepared for it with great devotional cere-

“ Non ti maravigliar se'l Po vien grosso
A primavera, e cresce in Ferrarese ;
Vinti gran fiumi gli fanno le spese
Di neve alpestre, che gli scolla adosso” &c.

(a) *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 227.

mony, and repeated exhortations to the soldiery. A party of the *stradiotti*, or hussars, in the service of the Venetians, had approached towards the French camp, and, falling in with a small detached body, had killed several of them, and dispersed the rest, carrying off the heads of the slain in triumph to the Italian camp. The approach of evening, however, prevented the general engagement till the following day ; but a dreadful storm of thunder, attended by a copious fall of rain in the night, seemed to the superstitious multitude to announce some important event, and struck both armies with terror. “On Monday, the sixth day of July,” says Commynes, with a simplicity almost ludicrous, “the gallant king Charles, in complete armour, mounted his horse *Savoy*, which was presented to him by the duke of Savoy ; he was the finest horse I ever saw ; his colour was black, he had only one eye, was of a middle size, but well proportioned to his rider, who seemed on this occasion to be quite a different being from that for which nature had intended him, both in person and countenance ; for he always appeared, and is still, timid in his speech, having been educated among low and effeminate people ; but on this occasion, his horse gave dignity to his appearance ; his countenance was firm, his complexion ruddy, and his expressions bold and judicious ; insomuch that they reminded me of the promise of Savonarola, that God would lead him by the hand, and that his honour would still be preserved to him.” (a)

The advanced guard of the French army was first directed to pass the river with the artillery,

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Prepara-
tions for an
engage-
ment.

Battle of
the Taro.

(a) *Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 227.

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which was effected with great difficulty, and by the aid of a considerable number of beasts of burden. Next came the *battle*, or cavalry, in the midst of which was the king, accompanied by the duke de la Tremouille. The rear of the army, with the baggage, was brought up by the count de Foix. As the French army began to pass the river, the Italians were in motion. The marquis of Mantua, following close upon the French, attacked their rear with great impetuosity; whilst the other commanders of the allied army, passing the river in different directions, assailed the French troops on every side. The marshal de Gies, with the advanced guard, maintained the strictest discipline, and proceeded with little annoyance; but the king, being compelled to turn his front, to resist the powerful attack of the marquis of Mantua, found himself suddenly in the midst of the conflict, and was frequently in imminent danger of falling into the hands of his enemies; his relation, the bastard of Bourbon, having been made a prisoner within twenty paces of him. In the confusion that ensued, the commanders lost their authority. Gonzaga, rushing furiously among the enemy, fought his way into the midst of them; and after a considerable slaughter, returned in safety to his followers. The French monarch is also said to have performed the duty of a common soldier. (a) Whilst the event yet remained doubtful, the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, availed themselves of the opportunity of effecting their escape, and announced to the Italians the disorder of their enemies, endeavouring, by every possible means,

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. ix. p. 581.

to stimulate their countrymen to continue the battle, and to avail themselves of this occasion to destroy for ever the influence of the French in Italy. Their exhortations were, however, of little avail. More intent on plunder than on victory, the Italian soldiery were inspired with no other emulation than that of acquiring the greatest share of the immense booty which the French had brought with them from Naples; of which having possessed themselves, they deserted their commanders, and took to flight in every direction; and Charles, collecting his scattered army, was suffered to proceed on his march. The royal standards, with the pavilion of the king, and a profusion of spoil, fell into the hands of the allies; (a) but the French, having effected their passage, claimed the honour of the victory. The number slain on the part of the Italians was also much greater than on that of the French. (b) Among

(a) Among this booty were some singular articles:—"Vi fu trovato un libro, nel quale, sotto diversi abiti ed età, al naturale erano dipinte molte femine per loro violate in molte città, e seco il portavano *per memoria*." *Corio, Storia di Milano*, 949. Benedetti asserts, that he saw this invaluable treasure:—"Vidi io un libro, nel quale erano dipinte varie immagini di meretrici, sotto diverso habito ed età, ritratte al naturale; secondo che la lascivia, e l'amore l'aveva tratto in ciascuna città: queste portava egli (il Re) seco dipinte *per ricordarsene* poi." *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, p. 31.

(b) Summonte asserts, that two thousand of the French, and four thousand Italians, were slain in this engagement; *Storia di Napoli*, vol. iii. p. 582; but the number is exaggerated. The slaughter of the Italians was in the proportion of more than ten to one of the French, who lost only from two to three hundred men. This is in a great degree to be attributed to the cruelty of the French, who massacred all those who fell into their hands, without making any prisoners, whilst such of the French as were taken by the Italians were well treated, and soon afterwards obtained

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them was Ridolfo Gonzaga, with many other noblemen and officers of distinguished rank. Unaccustomed to the profuse shedding of blood in battle, the Italians seem to have considered this as a dreadful engagement. An historian of great authority admits that the event was doubtful, and that it diminished the fear which the Italians had entertained of the French; (a) but Commynes represents it as an encounter of no great importance. "It was not however," says he, "like the battles to which the Italians had been accustomed; which sometimes continued a whole day, without either party gaining the victory." (b)

Misconduct
of both parties.

In judging of this engagement, which has been described at considerable length by both the French and Italian historians, and from which such decisive consequences were expected, it is

their liberty. In an interview which Commynes had soon after the battle with the marquis of Mantua, that commander recommended to him the prisoners, and particularly his uncle Ridolfo, whom he supposed to be living; "mais je sçavoye bien," says Commynes, "le contraire; toutefois je l'asseuroye que tous les prisonniers seroyent bien traitez, et luy recommanday le Bastard de Bourbon, qu'il tenoit. Les prisonniers par nous detenus estoient bien aisés à penser; car il n'en y avoit point. Ce qui n'advint par adventure jamais en bataille." *Mém.* liv. viii. chap. vii. p. 233.

(a) *Thuanus, Hist. sui Temp.* lib. i.

(b) *Mém. de Comm.* liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 231. Machiavelli, in his *Decennale*, i. 57, seems to concede the victory to the French:

"Di sangue il fiume pareva à vedello,
Ripien d'uomini e d'arme, e di cavagli,
Caduti sotto al Gallico coltello.
Così gli Italian' lasciaro andagli;
E lor, senza temer gente avversara
Giunson in Asti, e senz' altri travagli."

not easy to determine whether the misconduct of the French, or of the Italians, was the greater. The intention of the French monarch was to pass the river, and if possible to avoid a battle ; in consequence of which attempt, he was not only deprived of the assistance of his advanced guard, in which he had placed almost all his infantry and artillery, but was also exposed, both in flank and in rear, to the attack of the allies. If instead of adopting a measure which was equally imprudent and pusillanimous, he had opposed his enemies in an open contest, it is easy to perceive, from the consequences of this irregular affray, how fatal the event must have been to the arms of the allies ; and he might afterwards not only have pursued his march without interruption, but in all probability have possessed himself of the whole territory of Milan. Nor was the conduct of the allies less liable to reprehension than that of the French. The superiority of their numbers, and the advantages which they possessed, in attacking an enemy actually on their march, and impeded by the low and marshy banks of the river, ought to have secured to them an easy and decisive victory. But their army was divided into many detachments, under generals who paid little respect to the authority of the chief commander. Of these, some were unable, from the situation of the place, and others unwilling, to take an active part in the engagement. A great number fled at the first report of the French artillery ; and of the remainder, the chief part were employed in sacking the French camp, and securing for their private use as great a share of the plunder as they could obtain. The

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question is not, therefore, which of the contending parties obtained the greatest honour in this engagement; but which of them incurred the least disgrace.

The dread which the Italians had entertained of the French, may in some degree be estimated by the exultation which the event of the battle of the Taro occasioned in Italy. The praises of the marquis of Mantua resounded in every quarter, and the works of contemporary writers yet bear ample testimony to his fame. Ever hostile to the French, Crinitus immediately addressed to him a Latin ode. (*a*) Battista Mantuano has celebrated his prowess in a poetical allusion to his baptismal name; (*b*) and Lelio Capilupi has left a Virgilian Cento, intended as an inscription for his statue. (*c*) Without prostituting his talents to national partiality, or personal flattery, Fracastorius has also adverted to this engagement in a few beautiful lines near the close of the first book of his *Syphilis*, which deserve to be recalled to more particular notice. (*d*)

(*a*) *v. Appendix, No. XLV.*

(*b*) “ Dant sua Romanis victæ cognomina gentes,
Et jam patratum testificantur opus :
At nondum victi dederant tibi nomina *Franci*,
Hæc tibi venturæ nuntia laudis erat.”

(*c*) *v. Appendix, No. XLVI.*

(*d*) “ Dii patrii, quorum Ausonia est sub numine, tuque
Tu Latii, Saturne, pater, quid gens tua tantum
Est merita? An quidquam superest dirique gravisque
Quod sit inexhaustum nobis? Ecquod genus usquam
Aversum usque adeo cœlum tulit? Ipsa labores,
Parthenope, dic prima tuos, dic funera regum,
Et spolia, et prædas, captivæque colla tuorum.
An stragem infandam memorem, sparsumque cruorem

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II. returns
to Naples.

No sooner had Ferdinand, the young king of Naples, received information that Charles had quitted the city, than he made a descent on the coast of Calabria at the head of about six thousand troops, hastily raised in Sicily, and supported by a detachment of Spaniards under the command of Gonsalvo da Cordova; but the gallant d'Aubigny, to whom the defence of that part of the kingdom had been entrusted, was prepared for their reception; and in an engagement near Seminara, defeated them with considerable loss. Gonsalvo fled across the mountains, and Ferdinand returned to Messina, after owing his life to the generosity of his page, Giovanni di Capua, brother to the duke of Termini, who relinquished his horse to the king when his own was slain under him, and thereby met with that death which would otherwise have been the fate of his master. At Messina he fitted out a fleet, consisting of numerous, but small and weakly manned vessels, and proceeded towards Naples, where he was in hopes that the inhabitants would have shewn some demonstrations of their attachment to his cause. Disappointed in his expectations, after hovering three days on the coast, he was proceeding to the island of Ischia, when a bark arrived from Naples, with information, that his return was most ardently wished for by the inhabitants, who were only prevented by the presence of the French soldiery from manifesting their loyalty, and that if he

Gallorumque, Italûmque pari discrimine, quum jam
Sanguineum, et defuncta virûm, defunctaque equorum
Corpora volventem, cristasque atque arma trahentem
Eridanus pater acciperet rapido agmine Tarrum?"

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would make a second descent on the coast, they would be ready to espouse his cause. On the day following that of the battle of the Taro, Ferdinand landed at Madalena, near the mouth of the river Sebeto, within a mile of Naples; and whilst the duke de Mompensier led out the French troops to oppose his progress, the inhabitants, tumultuously taking up arms, closed the gates of the city against their conquerors, and opened them only to receive their former sovereign, who entered, amidst the most joyful acclamations, into a place, which he had quitted only a few months before, as an out-cast and a fugitive.

Contests between the French and Neapolitans.

The French, however, still retained possession of the two fortresses of Naples, the *Castel-nuovo* and *Castel dell'-Uovo*, where the duke de Mompensier for some time resisted the attacks of Ferdinand, till, being at length reduced to extremities, he effected his escape in safety to Salerno. At this place he again raised the French standard, and reinforced his small army by the accession of several powerful partisans; till, conceiving himself sufficiently strengthened to hazard another attack, he approached towards Naples, defeated a considerable body of the Aragonese, and occasioned such consternation in the city, that the king was once more on the point of seeking his safety by flight. A timely reinforcement from the pope, and the powerful assistance of Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, at length enabled Ferdinand to repel his enemies; and the provincial cities of Capua and Nola, with many other important places, returned to their allegiance, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. The duke de Mompen-

sier withdrew into the city of Atella, now called Aversa, where he strongly fortified himself; whilst d'Aubigny still kept possession of Calabria, in the hope of supporting himself till the promised succours should arrive from France.

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Amongst the other powers to whom Ferdinand had resorted for assistance in his necessities, he had not neglected the senate of Venice; who, having now avowed an open hostility to the French, sent to his succour a well-armed fleet, and a considerable body of troops, under the command of the marquis of Mantua, who had so well established his military reputation at the battle of the Taro. This assistance was not, however, obtained without important sacrifices on the part of the king; and the Venetians were to be put in possession of Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli, Otranto, and other places on the coast of the Adriatic, as pledges for the performance of the conditions on which it was furnished. On commencing the attack of Atella, Ferdinand was also joined by a body of Swiss troops, who had just arrived in Italy to co-operate with the French; but who now turned their arms against their employers, when they were no longer able to advance them the stipulated pay. In this emergency, the duke de Mompensier had recourse to d'Aubigny, whom he earnestly entreated to send him immediate succours; and although that general, then in an infirm state of health, had to contend with the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo, who had again taken the field, yet he sent a detachment to his assistance under the command of the count de Moreto and Alberto Sanseverino. Gon-

Expulsion of
the French
from the
kingdom of
Naples.

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salvo however surprised and defeated the French troops on their march, and made both the commanders prisoners. He then hastened to Atella, and uniting his arms with those of the king, blockaded the place so effectually, that the duke was reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation. A truce of thirty days was agreed on ; and it was further stipulated, that if within that time a considerable armament should not arrive, the duke should not only surrender the fortress of Atella, but all the other places dependant on the French in the kingdom of Naples. Having secured his own retreat, Charles paid little regard to the safety of the faithful soldiers whom he had left in Italy. (a) The expected succours did not appear, and the treaty was accordingly concluded. But Ferdinand, who had engaged to send the duke and his troops by sea to Provence, led them prisoners to the amount of about six thousand men, to Naples, whence they were conveyed to the island of Procida, and other unhealthy places, where upwards of two-thirds of them perished by sickness, famine, and pestilence. The duke de Mompensier shared the same fate, having died at Pozzuolo, leaving behind him the character of a good soldier and a faithful subject. D'Aubigny had made some progress in Calabria ; but hearing of the capitulation of Atella, and being again closely pressed by Gonsalvo, he finally withdrew his troops from the Neapolitan territory, and had the good fortune to return with them in safety to France.

The capture of Novara by the duke of Orleans,

(a) *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. xiii.

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A. Æt. 20.Charles
VIII. forms
a new alli-
ance with
Lodovico
Sforza, and
returns to
France.

which had been considered as an event highly favourable to the French, proved in the result one of the most humiliating and destructive incidents which had occurred during the war. Soon after the battle of the Taro, Novara was invested by the allies, who possessed themselves of the approaches, and so effectually cut off all supplies, that the duke of Orleans, with a numerous garrison, was reduced to the utmost extremity of famine. In this emergency, Charles had no resource but to enter into a treaty with Lodovico Sforza, for a temporary cessation of hostilities, which he with great difficulty obtained; and the duke of Orleans and the marquis of Saluzzo, with a small party of their friends, were suffered to visit the king at Vercelli, under a promise of returning to Novara, in case a final treaty was not concluded on. This circumstance led to a more general discussion between the adverse parties, in the course of which, Lodovico again changed his politics, and without the assent of his allies, entered into a league of perpetual peace and amity with the king, in which, among other articles, Lodovico agreed to allow him to fit out a fleet at the port of Genoa, and promised to grant him a free passage on his return to Naples, and assist him with money and troops. The bastard of Bourbon, with the rest of the French, made prisoners at the battle of the Taro, were set at liberty, and power was reserved for the Venetians to enter into the treaty within the space of two months, in which case they were to recal their fleet from Naples, and undertake not to afford any assistance to the house of Aragon. The city of Novara was

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restored to Lodovico; in consequence of which the French garrison, after having lost upwards of two thousand of their number by famine and disease, were led from thence to Vercelli, so exhausted through want of sustenance, that many of them perished on the road, and upwards of three hundred died after their arrival. (a) No sooner was the treaty concluded, than Commynes was again despatched to Venice, to induce the senate to accede to the terms proposed; and Charles, taking the route of Turin, returned in the month of October, 1495, to France, with the remains of his army; plundered, diseased, and reduced to less than one-fourth of its original number.

Consequences of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy.

Thus terminated the celebrated expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples; an expedition originating in puerile ambition, conducted with folly and rapacity, and ending in the dissipation of the revenues of his crown, and in the destruction of his army. That he accomplished his object, is the boast of the French historians; but it is easy to perceive, that the successes of Charles VIII. are not to be attributed so much to his courage, or to his abilities, as to the weak and irresolute conduct of his adversaries, the selfish and temporizing policy of the Italian states, and above all, to the odium excited against the house of Aragon, by the cruelties exercised by Ferdinand I. and his son Alfonso on their subjects. If these advantages could have been counterbalanced by any misconduct of his own, the defeat

(a) The number which quitted Novara, was about five thousand five hundred men, of whom not more than six hundred were able to perform duty. *Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. x.

of Charles had been certain. Such were his necessities in the commencement of his undertaking, and such the difficulties with which he provided for his soldiery, that he was not only obliged to borrow money at a most exorbitant interest, but even to plunder his friends and allies. The time chosen for his enterprize, could not indeed have been more favourable to his views; for many causes had concurred to disgust the people of Italy with their rulers, and had led them to regard the French as their friends and deliverers, and as a nation, on whose honour and good faith they could place the most perfect reliance: but this error was not of long duration; and the cruelty and disorder which distinguished the march of the French army, soon convinced their partisans and admirers, that the expected change was not likely to promote their happiness. The irruption of the French seemed to be the extinction of all literature in Italy. (a) The example of a weak and licentious monarch corrupted his followers. An incredible degree of

(a) “Nescio quo fato superiore anno evenit, quo Francorum rex Carolus Italiam cum infesto exercitu et instructis copiis invasit, ut principes viri in literis, atque in summis disciplinis clarissimi perierint: hoc est, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Io. Picus Mirandula*, et *An. Politianus*; qui omnes in ipso statim Francorum adventu et conatibus, immaturo obitu, ad superos concesserunt. Sed enim literæ ipsæ, ac studium bonarum artium, simul cum Italiæ libertate, cœperunt paulatim extinguere, barbaris ingruentibus, cum deessent hi homines, qui illas, suo patrocínio, assiduisque studiis, mirifice foverent. Qualis inter alios vir summa sapientia et egregio animo *Laurentius Medicis* * * * * Quæ res monere interdum me solet, quam brevi tempore fortunæ ratio commutetur, quamque inique nunc agatur cum bonis studiis; siquidem pro melioribus disciplinis vitia, pro humanitate et officiis bella et cædes succreverunt.” *Crinitus, de honesta Discipl. lib. xv. cap. ix.*

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

debauchery and prostitution prevailed. The restraints of modesty, the ties of morality, the voice of religion, were all equally disregarded; and the hand of Providence almost visibly interfered, to punish by the scourge of a loathsome and destructive malady, those enormities which no other motives could restrain. Shocked at this hideous disease, the Italians and the French recriminated on each other the disgrace of its introduction; and the appellations of *mal de Naples*, and *mal Franceze*, were intended by each of these nations to remove to the other the infamy of its origin. In other respects, this event seems only to have served to break down those barriers which nature had formed to secure the repose of mankind, and to have opened a wider field for the range of ambition, and the destruction of the human race.

CHAP. V.

1496—1499.

MARRIAGE of Ferdinand II. of Naples—His death—Contest respecting the dominion of Pisa—Descent of the emperor elect Maximilian into Italy—The Medici attempt to regain their authority in Florence—Death of Beatrice of Este—Alexander VI. attacks the Roman barons—Recovers the city of Ostia—Death of the duke of Gandia, son of Alexander VI.—Particular account of that event—Cæsar Borgia accused of the murder of his brother without sufficient evidence—Second attempt of the Medici to enter the city of Florence—Fatal consequences to their partisans within the city—Paolo Vitelli appointed general of the Florentines against Pisa. The Florentines form an alliance with Lodovico Sforza—Death of Charles VIII. and accession of Louis XII.—Death of Savonarola—Vitelli captures the fortress of Vico Pisano—Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place—The contest respecting Pisa submitted to the decision of Ercole, duke of Ferrara—His interference proves ineffectual—The inhabitants of Pisa resolve to defend themselves—Vitelli effects a breach in the walls—Neglects to avail himself of his advantages—Is brought to Florence and decapitated.

CHAPTER V.

THE death of Alfonso II. the fugitive king of Naples, which happened at Messina on the nineteenth day of November, 1495, had confirmed to Ferdinand the possession of the crown ; and being now freed from the apprehensions of the French, he thought it expedient to enter into the matrimonial state. For his bride he selected his aunt Joanna, the half-sister of his father, then only fourteen years of age, but highly distinguished by her beauty and accomplishments. This marriage gave great scandal to the christian world ; (a) but the dispensation of the pope speedily removed all difficulties. Guicciardini, who supposed that mankind are always actuated by motives of political interest, accounts for this union by presuming, that Ferdinand wished to strengthen his connexion with the king of Spain ; but had the ties of consanguinity been a sufficient title to his favour, Ferdinand already stood nearly related to him ; and it is therefore more probable, that the motive of his choice was the gratification of an amorous passion, which he had conceived for his aunt during their voyage to Sicily. This is rendered yet more probable by the accounts given of

A. D. 1496.

A. Æt. 21.

 Marriage of
Ferdinand
II. king of
Naples.

(a) "Ce me semble horreur," says Commynes, "de parler d'un tel mariage ; dont on eu fait ja plusiers en cette maison." *Mém. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. xiv. p. 251.

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1496.
A. Æt. 21.
His death.

the cause of his death ; which event took place on the fifth day of September, 1496, and was said to have been occasioned, or accelerated, by the excessive indulgence of his passion for his new bride. (a) As he left no offspring, he was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle Federigo, a prince of excellent dispositions, and considerable talents ; but the ambition of his contemporaries, and the unfavourable circumstances of the times, prevented his people from enjoying that happiness which they might otherwise have experienced under his government.

Contests respecting the
dominion of
Pisa.

Before Charles VIII. had quitted Turin, on his return to France, another interview had taken place between him and the Florentine deputies ; who still pursued him with their solicitations and remonstrances ; and by the advance of a large sum of money, of which he stood greatly in need, and many unreasonable concessions, obtained from him a definitive assurance that Pisa should again be restored to them. (b) Directions were accordingly sent to d'Entraghes to surrender to them the citadel ; but these directions were either accompanied by others of a contrary tendency, or d'Entraghes preferred his own interest to the honour and the favour of his master ; for, instead of complying with the orders of the king, he sold the fortress to the inhabitants of Pisa, for the

(a) *Summonte, Hist. di Napoli*, iii. lib. vi. p. 583. He is commemorated by the following lines, in the sacristy of the church of S. Domenico, at Naples :

“ Ferrandum, Mors sæva, diu fugis arma gerentem ;
Mox positis, quænam gloria ? fraude necas.”

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia*, lib. i. 120.

sum of twelve thousand ducats; and, having received the money, relinquished it into their hands.

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The Florentines, thus deluded in their expectations, had immediate recourse to arms. The citizens of Pisa, on the other hand, not only prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, but endeavoured, by the most earnest solicitations, to obtain assistance from several of the other states of Italy, and even of Europe; to whom they did not hesitate to offer the dominion of their city, provided they were freed from the yoke of the Florentines. The Venetians, eager to extend the limits of their territories, were among the first to listen to their entreaties. Lodovico Sforza also engaged in their defence. The Florentine army under the command of Paolo Vitelli, attempted to storm the city; but after having driven in, with great precipitation and slaughter, the troops employed in its defence, and possessed themselves of the suburbs, they were, in their turn, obliged to retreat by the artillery of the citadel; their commander being wounded and many of the soldiery killed. Encouraged by their success, the citizens of Pisa took the field, and opposed themselves to the Florentines, over whom they obtained some advantages, although no decisive engagement took place.

In this situation of affairs a new competitor made his appearance, with the intention of terminating at once the pretensions of inferior powers, and of taking the city of Pisa under his own protection. This was no less a personage than the

Descent of
the emperor
elect Maxi-
milian into
Italy.

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1496.
. Æt. 21.

emperor elect Maximilian ; who, induced by the offers of the citizens of Pisa, and the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, passed, in the month of October, 1496, with a party of horse and eight regiments of infantry, through the Valteline into the territories of Milan. After having been splendidly entertained during some days by Lodovico, he hastened to Genoa, where he embarked with his troops for Pisa ; but on his arrival there, he found that the Venetians had already occupied the garrison as auxiliaries to the inhabitants, and, conceiving themselves equal to the defence of the place, did not choose that he should share with them either in the honour or the spoil. He then sailed to Leghorn, which place he cannonaded for several days, and where he had nearly lost his life by a ball, which carried away a part of the imperial robe. This place was defended by the celebrated Tebalducci, the first of the Florentine *Condottieri* who succeeded in introducing a proper state of subordination and discipline amongst the Italian soldiery. (a) During this contest the Venetian commissaries admonished Maximilian to desist, as they had themselves pretensions to the possession of the place. He then determined to attack the Tuscan territories, for the purpose of devastation and plunder ; but at this moment a violent tempest dispersed his fleet. Finding all his purposes defeated, and apprehensive for his own safety, Maximilian abandoned his enterprize, and took the speediest route to his own dominions ; where he arrived, full of animosity against

(a) *Nardi, Vita d' Antonio Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini. Fior. 1587, 4to. passim.*

the Venetians, and with no small discredit to his character as a military commander. (a) CHAP.
V.

Whilst the Florentines were thus contending with powerful enemies abroad, and were distracted by discordant opinions, and the inflammatory harangues of Savonarola at home, the brothers of the Medici conceived that a favourable opportunity was afforded them for attempting to regain their authority in their native place. For this purpose they formed the project of an attack upon the city, in conjunction with their kinsman Virginio Orsino, who after having escaped from the custody of the French king at the battle of the Taro, had again begun to collect his adherents, in hopes of retrieving the fortunes of his house by the sale of their services. The Medici were then at Rome ; but Virginio having flattered them with the fairest hopes of success, if the necessary resources could be found for the payment of his troops, they exerted themselves in procuring for him large sums of money, with which he continued to increase the number of his followers. The three brothers also employed themselves with great industry, in col-

A. D. 1496.

A. Æt. 21.

The Medici attempt to regain the city of Florence.

(a) Mr. Henke has observed, that "it was less the deliverance of the Pisans, than the freeing of Italy in general from the danger of a second visit from the French, that Maximilian had in view ; as he took a part in these transactions conformably to a still subsisting treaty concluded at Venice in the preceding year. The most accurate account of it is contained in *Io. Jac. Ghilini, de Caesaris adventu in Italiam Hist.* tom. iii. p. 91, ed. Struvii. This Ghilini was in the service of Lodovico Sforza, and on this account is entitled to a greater degree of credit than Guicciardini, who was always very zealous for the honour of his native Florence. *v. Hegewick Hist. of Maximil. I.* vol. i. p. 166." (Note of M. Henke, *Germ. ed.* vol. i. p. 261.)*

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A. D. 1496.
A. Æt. 21.

lecting together their adherents from all parts of Italy. Piero having obtained pecuniary assistance from the Venetians, and being favoured in his enterprize by the pope, raised a considerable number of troops within the papal states, with which he advanced through the territory of Siena to the lake of Perugia, expecting to be joined by such levies as his brother Giuliano had been able to assemble in Romagna. A formidable body being thus collected, Virginio and Piero de' Medici passed in the midst of winter into Umbria; and by a toilsome march through the snow, at length reached the baths of Rapollano. The Florentines had, however, been apprized of the attempt, and had withdrawn a part of their troops from Pisa for their own defence. They had also fortified and strengthened the cities of Arezzo and Cortona, and continued to watch with unremitting vigilance the adherents of the Medici within the walls of Florence. The vigour and promptitude of these precautions, depressed the hopes of the assailants, who had relied more on the exertions of their friends within the city, than on their own force, and supposed that the appearance of a powerful military body in the vicinity, would encourage them to declare themselves. No disturbance was however excited; and Virginio, instead of proceeding to the attack, contented himself with plundering the defenceless villages for the subsistence of his troops. Whilst such was the hopeless state of the expedition, he received highly advantageous offers to induce him to relinquish his undertaking, and join the standard of the French, then on the point of being expelled from the kingdom of Na-

ples. Virginio did not long hesitate between his honour and his interest. Even his animosity to the king of France, who had unjustly detained him as a prisoner, gave way to the hopes of gain; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Piero and his friends, he led his troops toward Naples; not, however, without the most solemn promises that, as soon as the contest respecting that kingdom should be terminated, he would return to Tuscany, with a more powerful armament: promises which, if sincere, he never had an opportunity of fulfilling, for, being captured with the duke de Mompensier at Atella, he experienced the same fate as that officer, having died whilst a prisoner at Naples. (a) The cardinal de' Medici and his brother Giuliano, who had in vain endeavoured to prevail upon Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, to assist them in their attempt, were now obliged to retire from that place, and to seek for shelter within the territories of Milan. (b)

Early in the year 1497, the prosperous fortunes of Lodovico Sforza were interrupted by a domestic disaster, which was the harbinger of his approaching calamities. His wife Beatrice, the partner of his ambition, his grandeur, and his crimes, and of whose counsels he had on every occasion availed himself, died in child-bed, after having been delivered of a son, who died before his birth. (c)

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Death of
Beatrice of
Este, wife of
Lodovico
Sforza.

(a) *Nardi, Histor. Fiorent.* lib. ii. p. 28.

(b) *Jovii, Vita Leon. X.* lib. i. pp. 17, 19.

(c) The epitaph which Lodovico caused to be placed over the body of his child, displays his arrogance in the midst of his grief.

“ Infelix partus, amisi ante vitam quam in lucem ederer; infe-

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Though insensible, or regardless of the distress which he had occasioned throughout Italy, Lodovico sunk under his misfortune in weak and unmanly sorrow; and sought to alleviate his grief, and at the same time perhaps to gratify his ostentation, by the most expensive and splendid obsequies, which were repeated with additional magnificence, on the expiration of a year from the death of his wife. During this interval he never seated himself at his table; but was served in a chamber hung with black, from the hands of his attendants. (a) Such a violent and persevering sorrow, caused him to be considered throughout all Italy as a paragon of conjugal fidelity; and the poets of the time sought to assuage his grief by celebrating his affection, and embalming the memory of his wife in their verse. (b)

licior quod matri moriens vitam ademi, et parentem consorte sua orbavi. In tam adverso fato hoc solum mihi potest jucundum esse, QUOD DIVI PARENTES ME LUDOVICUS, ET BEATRIX, MEDIOLANENSES DUCES, GENUERE, 1497, TERTIO NONAS JANUARIJ." — *Corio, Storia di Milan.* par. vii. p. 962.

(a) *Corio, Histor. Milan.* parte vii. p. 962.

(b) Among these was the Greek Marullus, who has devoted the following hyperbolical lines to her memory:

" Solverat Eridanus tumidarum flumina aquarum;
Solverat, et populis non levis horror erat.
Quippe, gravis Pyrrhæ metuentes tempora cladis,
Credebant simili crescere flumen aqua.
Ille dolor fuerat sævus, lacrymæque futuri
Funeris, et justis dona paranda novis:
Scilicet et fluvios tangunt tua acerba, BEATRIX,
Funera, nedum homines moestaque corda VIRI."

Epigr. lib. iv.

On the same subject, the learned Pontico Virunio wrote four books of Latin elegies, "historiis Græcorum, et fabulis reconditis refertos, pulcherrimaque inventionem digestos;" from the perusal of

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Alexander
VI. attacks
the Roman
barons.

Alexander VI. being now firmly seated in the pontifical chair, and freed from his apprehensions of the French, began to adopt those vigorous measures for the subjugation of the Roman nobility, and the aggrandizement of his own family, which he pursued with unremitting industry during the remainder of his life. His eldest son Giovanni had been honoured by Ferdinand of Spain with the title of duke of Gandia; Cæsar, his second son, had been raised to the dignity of the purple; and his daughter Lucrezia, who before the elevation of her father, had been married to a Spanish gentleman, was soon after that event, divorced from her husband, and became the wife of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. The first hostile attempt of the pontiff was directed against the territories of the Orsini; who had equally disregarded his admonitions and his threats, and had united their arms with those of the French. The command of the papal troops destined to this expedition was entrusted to the duke of Gandia; who was accompanied by Guidubaldo Montefeltri, duke of Urbino, a commander of acknowledged courage and experience. After possessing themselves of some places of inferior importance, they commenced the siege of Bracciano. This event first called into action the military talents of Bartolommeo d'Alviano, then very young, but who afterwards established his reputation as one of the most accomplished commanders of Italy. In conjunction with Carlo, the illegitimate son of Virginio Orsino, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, he vigorously attacked

which, Lodovico, it seems, derived great consolation. *Zeno Diss. Voss.* vol. ii. p. 315. These elegies have not been printed.

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the papal troops. The engagement continued for several hours ; in the result the Roman generals were completely routed ; the duke of Urbino was taken prisoner, with several other noblemen and officers of high rank ; but the duke of Gandia effected his escape, after having been slightly wounded in the thigh. Thus disappointed in his attempt to wrest from the family of Orsini their patrimonial possessions, Alexander had recourse, for the aggrandizement of his offspring, to another expedient. With the consent of the college of cardinals, he separated from the states of the church the city of Benevento ; and erecting it into an independent duchy, conferred it, with other domains, on his eldest son. (a)

Recovers
the city of
Ostia.

Although Charles VIII. after his return from his Neapolitan expedition, had relinquished to the pope the fortresses of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and other places within the papal state which he had occupied by his arms, he still retained the city of Ostia, the command of which he had entrusted to the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of that place. (b) The expulsion of the French from Naples by the aid of the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo, had not only encouraged the pope to attempt the recovering of this impor-

(a) " Feria quarta, septima Junii, fuit secretum consistorium, in quo serenissimus D. noster erexit civitatem Beneventanam in ducatum, et de consensu omnium cardinalium qui interfuerunt, nullo se opponente, seu minimum verbum contradicente, infeudavit illustrissimum dominum Johannem Borgia, de Arragonia ducem Gandiæ, S. R. E. capitaneum generalem, filium suum carissimum, et omnes successores suos, ex lumbis descendentes," &c. *Burchard. Diar.*

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 94.*

tant station, but afforded him an opportunity of carrying his intentions into effect by the aid of Gonsalvo, who being then unemployed, gladly accepted the lucrative offers of the pontiff to assist in the attack. Uniting his arms with those of the pope, Gonsalvo proceeded to bombard the fortress ; but the cannonading had scarcely commenced, when Menaldo, who held the place for the cardinal, and who by his piratical depredations had greatly annoyed the navigation of the Tiber, surrendered at discretion ; and was led by Gonsalvo in triumph to Rome. On his approach to the city, Gonsalvo was met by the sons of the pontiff, the cardinals and prelates of the church, and by an immense concourse of the people, who were anxious to see a man whose exploits had already extended his fame throughout all Italy. He was immediately introduced to the pope, who received him with the holy kiss, and bestowed upon him, in full consistory, the golden rose which is annually consecrated by the pontiff, and presented only to sovereigns and great princes, who have merited the favour of the holy see. (a) On this occasion Gonsalvo gave a proof of his magnanimity, in prevailing on the pontiff to spare the life of Menaldo ; who being set at liberty, was permitted to retire to France. (b)

The exultation of the pontiff on this occasion was not, however, of long continuance, having been speedily succeeded by a most tragical event, that not only blasted in a great degree the hopes of his family, but branded it with a stigma, which

Death of
the duke of
Gandia, son
of Alexander VI.

(a) *Jovii Vita magni Gonsalvi*, lib. i. p. 222.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia*, lib. iii. vol. i. p. 175.

CHAP. has rendered it peculiarly odious to future times.
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This was the death of the duke of Gandia, who, after having passed the evening at a splendid entertainment given by his mother, was on his return home assassinated, and his body thrown into the Tiber : where it remained undiscovered for several days. The perpetration of this crime has been imputed by the Italian historians, without hesitation, to Cæsar Borgia ; who, being disgusted with his ecclesiastical profession, and earnestly desirous of signalizing himself in a military capacity, is supposed to have considered his brother as having preoccupied the station which he was desirous of obtaining ; and to have been jealous of the superior ascendancy which the duke had acquired in the favour of the pontiff. In examining these motives, it might indeed be observed, that the destination of the elder brother to a secular employment did not necessarily confine the younger to an ecclesiastical state ; and that the honours bestowed on the duke of Gandia, did not seem to prevent the pontiff from promoting the interests of his second son, whom he had placed in such a station, as to afford him an opportunity of obtaining the highest dignity in christendom. Some authors have, therefore, not scrupled to suggest a more powerful cause of his supposed enmity, by asserting that he was jealous of the preference which the duke had obtained in the affections of their sister Lucrezia, with whom, it is said, that not only the two brothers, but even Alexander, her father, had criminal intercourse. (a) Frequently however

(a) “ Era medesimamente fama, se però è degno di credersi tanta enormità, che nell’ amor di Madonna Lucrezia concorres-

as this charge has been repeated, and indiscriminately as it has been believed, it might not be difficult to shew, that, so far from this being with justice admitted as a proof that Cæsar was the perpetrator of the murder of his brother, the imputation is in itself in the highest degree improbable; and this transaction must therefore be judged of by such positive evidence as yet remains, without presuming the guilt of Borgia from circumstances which are yet more questionable than the crime of which he stands primarily accused. (a)

The most interesting and particular account of this mysterious event is given by Burchard; and is in substance as follows: On the eighth day of June, the cardinal of Valenza (Cæsar Borgia), and the duke of Gandia, sons of the pope, supped with their mother Vanozza, near the church of *S. Pietro ad vincula*; several other persons being present at the entertainment. A late hour approach-

Particular
account of
this event.

sino, non solamente i due fratelli, ma eziandio il padre medesimo." *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. iii. vol. i. p. 182.*

"On avoit des preuves convainquantes," says the compiler Moréri, "que Cæsar étoit l'auteur de ce fratricide; car, outre ses intérêts d'ambition, il ne pouvoit souffrir que le duc de Gandia eut plus de part que lui aux bonnes grâces de Lucrece Borgia, leur sœur, et leur maîtresse." : *Moréri, art. Cæs. Borgia.*

(a) Gordon, in his *Life of Alexander VI. (Lond. 1720, fo.)* not only asserts, on the authority of Tomaso Tomasi, that Cæsar was the perpetrator of this murder, but has given at great length the private conferences between him and the assassins hired for this purpose, with as much accuracy as if he had himself been present on the occasion, (v. pp. 153, &c.) In the same manner he has also favoured us with the private conversation between Cæsar and the duke, on their last interview in the streets of Rome: "Cæsar wished him much pleasure, and so they parted."—A mode of writing which reduces history below the level of romance.

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ing, and the cardinal having reminded his brother that it was time to return to the apostolic palace, they mounted their horses or mules; with only a few attendants, and proceeded together as far as the palace of cardinal Ascanio Sforza, when the duke informed the cardinal, that, before he returned home, he had to pay a visit of pleasure. Dismissing therefore all his attendants, excepting his *staffiero*, or footman, and a person in a mask, who had paid him a visit whilst at supper, and who, during the space of a month, or thereabouts, previous to this time, had called upon him almost daily at the apostolic palace, he took this person behind him on his mule, and proceeded to the street of the Jews, where he quitted his servant, directing him to remain there until a certain hour; when, if he did not return, he might repair to the palace. The duke then seated the person in the mask behind him, and rode, I know not whither; but in that night he was assassinated and thrown into the river. The servant, after having been dismissed, was also assaulted and mortally wounded; and although he was attended with great care, yet such was his situation, that he could give no intelligible account of which had befallen his master. In the morning, the duke not having returned to the palace, his servants began to be alarmed; and one of them informed the pontiff of the evening excursion of his sons, and that the duke had not yet made his appearance. This gave the pope no small anxiety; but he conjectured that the duke had been attracted by some courtesan to pass the night with her, and, not choosing to quit the house in open day, had waited till the following evening to return

home. When, however, the evening arrived, and he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he became deeply afflicted, and began to make inquiries from different persons, whom he ordered to attend him for that purpose. Amongst these was a man named Giorgio Schiavoni, who, having discharged some timber from a bark in the river, had remained on board the vessel to watch it, and being interrogated whether he had seen any one thrown into the river, on the night preceding, he replied, that he saw two men on foot, who came down the street, and looked diligently about to observe whether any person was passing. That seeing no one, they returned, and a short time afterwards two others came and looked around in the same manner as the former; no person still appearing, they gave a sign to their companions, when a man came, mounted on a white horse, having behind him a dead body, the head and arms of which hung on one side, and the feet on the other side of the horse; the two persons on foot supporting the body, to prevent its falling. They thus proceeded towards that part, where the filth of the city is usually discharged into the river; and turning the horse with his tail towards the water, the two persons took the dead body by the arms and feet, and with all their strength flung it into the river. The person on horseback then asked if they had thrown it in, to which they replied, *Signor, si*, (yes, sir). He then looked towards the river, and seeing a mantle floating on the stream, he inquired what it was that appeared black, to which they answered it was a mantle; and one of them threw stones upon it, in consequence of which it sunk.

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The attendants of the pontiff then inquired from Giorgio, why he had not revealed this to the governor of the city; to which he replied, that he had seen in his time a hundred dead bodies thrown into the river at the same place, without any inquiry being made respecting them, and that he had not therefore considered it as a matter of any importance. The fishermen and seamen were then collected, and ordered to search the river, where on the following evening they found the body of the duke, with his habit entire, and thirty ducats in his purse. He was pierced with nine wounds, one of which was in his throat, the others in his head, body, and limbs. No sooner was the pontiff informed of the death of his son, and that he had been thrown like filth into the river, than giving way to his grief, he shut himself up in a chamber and wept bitterly. The cardinal of Segovia, and other attendants on the pope, went to the door, and after many hours spent in persuasions and exhortations, prevailed upon him to admit them. From the evening of Wednesday, till the following Saturday, the pope took no food; nor did he sleep from Thursday morning till the same hour on the ensuing day. At length however, giving way to the entreaties of his attendants, he began to restrain his sorrow, and to consider the injury which his own health might sustain by the further indulgence of his grief." (a)

From this account, which is in truth the only authentic information that remains respecting the death of the duke, it seems probable that he had for some time been carrying on an amorous in-

(a) The original is given in the Appendix, No. XLVII.

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trigue, by the intervention of the person who so frequently visited him in disguise; and it may at the same time be concluded, that the evening on which he met with his death, he had been detected by some jealous rival, or injured husband, and had paid with his life the forfeiture of his folly, his presumption, or his guilt. The cardinal appears not to have had the least share in directing the motions of the duke; nor does it appear from Burchard, that he again left the palace, after he had returned home on the evening when the murder was committed. Throughout the whole narrative, there is not the slightest indication that Cæsar had any share in the transaction; and the continuance of the favour of both his father and his mother, after this event, may sufficiently prove to every impartial mind, that he was not even suspected by them as the author of the crime. (a)

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A. Æt. 22.
Cæsar Borgia accused of the murder of his brother without sufficient evidence.

The brothers of the Medici, disappointed in their first attempt to regain their native place, now formed a more deliberate and systematic plan for effecting their purpose. Amidst the internal commotions which Florence had experienced since the expulsion of the Medici, the form of its government had undergone frequent changes, until the populace had at length usurped the whole direc-

Second attempt of the Medici to enter the city of Florence.

(a) Mr. Henke has discussed this subject at considerable length, and has adduced the authority of several writers to shew that Cæsar was guilty of the murder, at which it was supposed even the pope connived. The authors he has referred to are, *Raph. Volaterr. Commentar. Urban.* lib. xxii. *Onuphrius Panvinus. Vit. Alex. VI.* p. 339, ed. Cologne. 1626. *Petri Mart. Anglerii opus Epistolar.* p. 99, ed. Amst. (v. Henke, *Germ. ed.* vol. i. p. 273.) Mr. Henke attributes the conduct of the pope on this occasion to the apprehensions he had for his own safety, from the atrocious character of his son.*

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tion, and, under the influence of Savonarola, had united the enthusiasm of liberty with the fanaticism of superstition. The violent extremes to which they proceeded, soon however produced a re-action favourable to their opponents. The inability of a set of artisans, who left their stalls, in the habits of their occupations, to regulate the concerns of the state, became apparent; the misconduct or negligence of the rulers had been manifested by an alarming scarcity of provisions; and at length, by the exertions of the more respectable inhabitants, the office of *gonfaloniere* was conferred on Bernardo del Nero, a citizen of advanced age and great authority, whose long and friendly intercourse with the family of the Medici, gave reason to suppose that he was well inclined to their interest. The other offices of government were also filled by persons who were supposed to be adverse to the *frateschi*, or followers of Savonarola. Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, Piero communicated his views to the Venetians, who promised to support him in his attempt. The concurrence of Alexander VI. who was highly exasperated against the Florentines, for the protection afforded to Savonarola, in his free censures of the abuses of the church, was easily obtained; nor did Lodovico Sforza oppose an enterprize, which, by dividing and weakening the Florentines, might afford him an opportunity of availing himself of their dissensions to his own advantage. The military commander chosen by Piero de' Medici, on this occasion, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had acquired great honour in the defence of Bracciano, against the arms of the pope. By the credit

and exertions of the three brothers, a considerable body of troops was raised, with which d'Alviano, marching only by night, and through the least frequented roads, proceeded to Siena. He was here met by Piero and Giuliano, who had obtained further succours from the inhabitants of Siena, whose aversion to the Florentines led them to promote every measure that was likely to increase their internal commotions, or to weaken their political strength. (a) A communication was secretly opened between the Medici and their friends in Florence. The day was agreed upon when the Medici should, early in the morning, approach the city, and enter the gates; at which time their adherents would be ready to receive them, and to second their efforts. In their progress towards Florence they met with no interruption; and arriving within a few miles of the city, they took their stations for the night; intending to reach the walls at the hour appointed on the following morning. When, however, they prepared to pursue their route, they found their order deranged, and their progress obstructed, by the effects of an uncommon fall of rain, which had continued throughout the night; and which, by postponing their arrival until a late hour of the day, gave sufficient time to their adversaries to be apprized of their intentions. Vigorous measures were instantly adopted for the defence of the city. Paolo Vitelli, the *condottiero* of the Florentine troops, who had casually arrived there on the preceding evening, secured the gates, and took the command of those who were ready to join in repelling the attack. The partisans of the

(a) *Malavolti, Storia di Siena*, par. 3, p. 103.

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Medici, some of whom had given sufficient indications of their designs, were seized upon and committed to safe custody ; insomuch, that when the Medici arrived under the walls, instead of finding their friends ready to receive them, they discovered that every measure had been taken for resistance. (a) Being thus disappointed in their expectation of succeeding in their enterprize, by the aid of their accomplices within the city, they deliberated whether they should attack the gates, and endeavour to carry the place by storm ; but, after a consultation of four hours, they concluded that their force was not equal to the undertaking. Bending their course therefore towards the papal dominions, d'Alviano and his military associates

(a) Nardi informs us that this attempt was made on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1497. According to the same author, Piero de' Medici approached so near to the city walls, as to be seen by the inhabitants ; who came in throngs, as to a spectacle, to take a view of him and his associates, but gave no demonstrations of attachment to his cause. He remained there about two hours ; and being molested by the small arms from the fortress, was obliged to take shelter behind the wall of one of the fountains in the suburbs of the city. This historian, who was a great admirer of Savonarola, gives a singular instance of the folly of the magistrates, and of his own credulity, in relating, that Girolamo Benivieni, the celebrated Florentine poet, who was himself a warm enthusiast, was despatched to consult Savonarola on the attempt made by Piero de' Medici, which had occasioned the magistrates great alarm : When Savonarola, who was engaged in reading, raised his head, and said to Benivieni—" *Modicæ fidei, quare dubitasti?* Know you not that God is with you ? Go, and inform the magistrates from me, that I shall pray to God for the city, and that they may entertain no fears ; for Piero de' Medici will come as far as the gates, and will return without having effected any thing." " And so," says the historian, " it proved." *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. ii. p. 37.*

endeavoured to recompense themselves for their disappointment, by plundering the inhabitants ; whilst Piero and his brother Giuliano retired in haste to Siena.

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This affair did not, however, terminate without bloodshed. No sooner were the prevailing party within the walls apprized of the retreat of the Medici, and the object of their visit, than they instituted a strict inquiry as to the authors and abettors of the undertaking ; in consequence of which, four of the principal citizens, Nicolo Ridolfi, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, Gianozzo Pucci, and Giovanni Cambi, were found to be implicated in the conspiracy and were condemned to death. (a) Bernardo del Nero, the *gonfaloniere*, accused of having been privy to their proceedings without disclosing them,

Fatal consequences to the partisans of the Medici within the city.

(a) To Lorenzo Tornabuoni, who was nearly related to the Medici, Politiano had inscribed, in terms of warm commendation, his *Sylva*, entitled *Ambra* ; at the same time applauding him for his proficiency in the Greek language, and exhorting him to persevere in the study of it. His untimely death is lamented in a sonnet of Bernardo Accolti, called *L'Unico Aretino* :

“ Io che già fu tesor de la natura,
Con man legate, scinto, e scalzo, vegno
A porre il giovin collo al duro legno,
E ricever vil paglia in sepoltura.
Pigli exemplo di me chi s'assicura
In potentia mortal, fortuna, o regno ;
Che spesso viene al mondo, al cielo, a sdegno
Chi la felicità sua non misura.
E tu che levi a me gemme, e tesoro,
La consorte, i figlioli, la vita mesta ;
Che più poi troverrei un Turco, un Mauro !
Fammi una grazia almen, turba molesta,
A colei, cui tanto amo, in piatto d'auro,
Fa presentar la mia tagliata testa.”

Opere d'Accolti. Ed. Fir. 1514.

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was adjudged to a similar fate. The persons thus condemned appealed to the *consiglio grande*, or general assembly of the people, in conformity to a late regulation in the constitution, introduced by the *frateschi*; but the promoters of this salutary law were the first to infringe it, and the convenient pretexts of public danger, and state necessity, were alleged by the adherents of Savonarola as sufficient justifications for carrying the sentence into immediate execution. (a) The inhabitants of Florence, unaccustomed for a long course of years to see the political errors of their fellow-citizens punished with such sanguinary severity, derived from this transaction additional motives of dissatisfaction; and the death of these citizens, who, whether guilty or not of the crime laid to their charge, were condemned contrary to the established forms of law, was soon afterwards avenged by the slaughter of those who had been most active in their destruction.

Paolo Vitelli appointed general of the Florentines.

The siege of Pisa still continued to increase in importance, and to augment the number of the contending parties. In favour of the inhabitants, the duke of Urbino, who had purchased his liberty at the expense of thirty thousand ducats, d'Alviano, his late adversary, Paolo Orsini, Astorre Baglioni, and several other commanders of independent bodies of troops, took the field, having been engaged in the cause principally by the wealth and credit of the Venetians; and the command of

(a) "E quel condusse in su le vostre mura
Il vostro *gran ribello*, onde ne nacque
Di cinque cittadini la sepoltura."

Macchiavel. Decennale, 1.

the whole was entrusted to the marquis of Mantua. The ardour of the Florentines kept pace with that of their enemies. They raised a considerable body of troops within the Tuscan territories ; and several experienced commanders joined their standard. Paolo Vitelli, who had already rendered many important services to the republic, was appointed chief general, and the *bastone*, or emblem of command, was delivered to him with great solemnity, on a day fixed on for that purpose, by the rules of astrology. On this occasion all the astrologers in the city, who it seems formed a numerous body, were assembled in the great court of the palace ; and whilst one, who was in the immediate service of Vitelli, with the rest of his fraternity, waited with their astrological instruments in their hands to observe the *felice punto*, or fortunate moment, Marcello Virgilio, chancellor of the republic, delivered an oration before the magistrates in honour of their general ; when, on a sign being given by the person appointed for that purpose, the orator instantly concluded his speech, and Vitelli, on his knees, received from the *gonfaloniere* the emblem of his authority, amidst the sound of trumpets, and the plaudits of the populace. (a) At the same time the *Madonna dell' Imprunata* was carried through the city in a ceremonial procession ; a measure which we are told had never been resorted to at Florence without manifest advantage. (b)

Whilst the adverse parties were thus preparing for a decisive contest, the inhabitants of Pisa despatched a body of troops, consisting of seven

The Florentines form an alliance with Lodovico Sforza.

(a) *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* lib. iii. p. 53.

(b) *Ammirato, Hist. Fior.* vol. iii. p. 254.

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hundred horse and one thousand foot, to levy contributions upon, or to plunder the inhabitants of the district of Volterra. Returning with a considerable booty, they were attacked in the valley of S. Regolo by a party of the Florentines under the command of the count Rinuccio, and being thrown into disorder, were on the point of relinquishing their spoil; when a fresh body of horse arriving from Pisa, changed the fortune of the day, and the greater part of the Florentine detachment was either slaughtered or made prisoners. This disaster was severely felt by the Florentines, who now began to apprehend that, unless they could detach some of their adversaries from the alliance formed against them, they might eventually, not only fail in their attempt to recover the city of Pisa, but might so far exhaust their strength, as to become themselves a prey to the ambition of their enemies. Of these, the most formidable were the Venetians, who were then in the zenith of their power, and had given decisive proofs of their intentions to extend their dominion into the southern provinces of Italy. In this exigency the Florentines had recourse to Lodovico Sforza, who, by having so frequently changed the object of his political pursuit, afforded them some hopes, that he might not refuse to listen to their representations. Nor were they mistaken in this opinion. Lodovico heard with attention the arguments by which they endeavoured to convince him, that, in affording assistance to the inhabitants of Pisa, he was only acting a subsidiary part to the republic of Venice, which was already too powerful for the

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other states of Italy, and would, by the acquisition of Pisa and its territory become highly formidable even to Lodovico himself. Induced by these and similar motives, and actuated by that instability which characterized the whole of his conduct, Lodovico entered into the proposed treaty; and it was agreed between the parties, that in order to avail themselves of it to greater advantage, no external demonstration of it should immediately appear, but that Lodovico should take advantage of such opportunity of withdrawing his troops, as should be most for the interest of his new allies. (a)

From the time of the return of Charles VIII. to his own dominions, the Italian states had been kept in continual alarm, by rumours of great preparations, said to be making for another and more powerful descent upon the kingdom of Naples; but these apprehensions were suddenly dispelled by the death of that monarch, occasioned by an apoplexy, whilst he was amusing himself by the game of tennis at the castle of Amboise, in the month of April, 1498. The exultation of the Italians on this event was not, however, well-founded, and it is probable that the death of the king, instead of being favourable to their repose, was the occasion of their being exposed to still greater calamities. Charles had little pretensions either in body or mind to the character of a hero. He had made a hazardous attempt, from the consequences of which he had been extricated with difficulty; and there was no great probability that he would have exposed himself to the dangers of a second expe-

Death of
Charles
VIII. and
accession of
Louis XII.

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital.* lib. iv. vol. i. p. 195.

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object of their admiration; after which they committed his body, together with those of two of his associates, to the flames, and scattered their ashes in the river Arno. (a) Respecting the character of Savonarola, a great diversity of opinions has arisen, as well in his own, as in subsequent times; and whilst some have considered him as a saint and a martyr, others have stigmatized him as an impostor and a demagogue. It requires not, however, any great discernment to perceive, that Savonarola united in himself those exact proportions of knavery, talents, folly, and learning, which, combined with the insanity of superstition, compose the character of a fanatic; the motives and consequences of whose conduct are perhaps no

(a) This circumstance is adverted to in the following sonnet, prefixed to an Italian translation in MS. of the Life of Savonarola, from the Latin of Giovan-Francesco Pico, one of his warmest admirers. At the close of the work is a large collection of miracles, attributed to this extraordinary and unfortunate man. The person referred to under the name of *Il Tiranno*, is undoubtedly Piero de' Medici:—

“ Alma città, che al fuoco, al onda,
Vedesti in preda i tre martiri eletti,
E tra le pene acerbe, e tra dispetti,
Lieti insieme provar morte gioconda,
Godi, che d’ogni ben tosto feconda
Ti mostran di profeti i santi detti;
E tu, che sei regina de’ profeti,
Ove il fallo abondò, la grazia abonda.
Il tuo ricco, onorato, altiero fiume,
Che si nasconde il gran tesoro in seno,
Di quel sacro divin cenere sparso,
Vedrà morto *il Tiranno*, spento ed arso
Ogn’ infidel, e’l vizio venir meno,
Ed apparir nuova luce, e nuovo lume.”

For the particulars of the catastrophe of Savonarola, see *Life of Lor. de Medici*, vol. ii. p. 269, 4to. ed.

less obscure and inexplicable to himself, than they are to the rest of mankind. (a) CHAP.
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The secret treaty between Lodovico Sforza and the state of Florence, was much more detrimental to the Venetians, than it would have been if publicly avowed. By his solicitations, several of the Italian leaders, who had engaged in the defence of Pisa, were induced to enter into the service of the Florentines; and the army of the republic, under the command of Paolo Vitelli, at length took the field, with a considerable body of horse, and a powerful train of artillery. Having hastily passed the Arno, Vitelli first bombarded the castle of Buti, where the Venetians attempted to oppose his progress. This place he carried by assault on the second day. Thence he proceeded towards Pisa, and having stationed several bodies of troops in the vicinity, so as to prevent the approach of supplies to the city, he turned his artillery against Vico Pisano, a fortress in the neighbourhood of Pisa, where, having made a breach in the walls, he compelled the garrison to capitulate, and proceeded, by regular approaches, to reduce the city to submission. (b)

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A. Æt. 23.
Vitelli captures the fortress of Vico Pisano.

In the mean time the exiled brothers of the Medici, conceiving that another opportunity was now afforded them for attempting the recovery of Florence, requested the Venetian senate to admit them as associates in the war: representing to them the practicability of sending a body of troops through

Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place.

(a) On the character of Savonarola, Count Bossi has given a long and interesting note, highly deserving the attention of the Italian reader. (*v. Ital. ed.* vol. ii. p. 189.)*

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. iv. vol. i. p. 199.

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the passes of the Apennines, where they would be joined by the numerous friends of the Medici in that quarter, by whose assistance they might attack the city before it could be provided with the means of defence. The Venetians, at this time closely pressed by Vitelli, willingly accepted the offer; and a large body of infantry was immediately collected, the command of which was given to the duke of Urbino, and Astorre Baglioni, of Perugia. Piero de' Medici, with his brother Giuliano, and his cousin Giulio, having united their troops with those of Bartolommeo d'Alviano, and Carlo Orsino, joined the Venetians in the Val de Lamone, and possessed themselves of the small town of Marra. They soon however found themselves opposed by the Florentines, with whom Lodovico Sforza had now united his arms; but the duke of Urbino pressed forwards, and, having captured the town of Bibbiena, descended into the sterile district of Casentino, through which the Arno continues its course to Florence; and although his operations were retarded no less by the severity of the weather, than by the efforts of his enemies, his approach filled the inhabitants of Florence with consternation. They, therefore, directed their commander Vitelli to fortify, in the best manner he could, the places which he had occupied near Pisa, and to proceed immediately to oppose the Medici in Casentino. The courage and experience of the duke of Urbino, and the ardour and rapidity of d'Alviano, were opposed by the vigilance and caution of Vitelli. With inconceivable industry he fortified the passes by which alone the troops of the Medici could approach; he restrained their

excursions on every side ; he weakened their forces in various skirmishes, and harassed them by cutting off their supplies. Unable either to procure subsistence, or to change the situation of their troops, the Venetian commissaries, with the brothers of the Medici, secretly deserted their army, and fled for safety to the town of Bibbiena. The soldiers themselves were compelled to undergo that last of all military disgraces, the compulsory surrender of their arms ; after which they were permitted by their conquerors to retire, dejected, emaciated, and disgraced, to their own country. (a)

(a) It was probably on this disastrous event, that the anguish of Piero de' Medici burst forth in the following sonnet ; which, although incorrect and unpolished, may be considered as the genuine expression of his feelings. It is now first printed from the original in the Laurentian library ; which appears there in a very rude and imperfect state.

SONETTO.

“ Non posso far che gli occhi non m'inacqui,
 Pensando quel ch'io sono, e quel ch'io ero ;
 D'aver diletto mai più non spero
 In alcun nido com' in quel ch'io nacqui.
 Per certo ch'a fortuna troppo spiacqui,
 E chi'l cognosca credi che'l sia 'l vero ;
 Sofert' ho in pace, e già non mi dispero,
 Con tutto che con l'ira il viso *imbiacqui*.
 Io m'assomiglio al legno in alto mare,
 Che per fortuna l'arbore sta torto,
 Cangio le vele e sto per annegare.
 Se non perisco ancor, guignerò in porto.
 Fortuna sa quel ch'ella sa ben fare,
 Sana in un punto chi è quasi morto.
 Io son fuor del mio orto,
 Dice il proverbio ; odi parola adorna
 Che chi non muor qualche volta ritorna.”

SONNET.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1499.
A. Æt. 24.

The contest
respecting
Pisa sub-
mitted to
the decision
of Ercole,
duke of Fer-
rara.

During the contest respecting the city of Pisa, the Florentines had at various times made overtures to the Venetians and their allies, for compromising the differences to which it had given rise; but the senate, conscious of their superiority, and desirous of reducing the territory of Pisa under their own dominion, had, under various pretexts, refused to listen to any terms of pacification. The disgraceful defeat of their troops in Casentino, and the vigour with which Vitelli carried on the siege of Pisa, at length induced them to relax in their pretensions; and by the intervention of Lodovico Sforza, it was, after long negotiation, agreed, that all differences between the contending parties should be finally decided by Ercole, duke of Ferrara. Having undertaken the office of mediator, and heard the various representations of the different envoys, he published his determination on the sixth day of April, 1499; by which he ordered, that the Venetians should immediately withdraw their troops from the Floren-

SONNET.

When all my sorrows past I call to mind,
And what I am, with what I was, compare:
No more allow'd those dear delights to share,
Alone to thee, my native spot, confined,
Tears dim my eyes. Yet tho' with looks unkind
Vindictive fortune still pursues me near,
Firm as I may her injuries I bear;
In spirit ardent, but with heart resign'd.
Like some storm-beaten bark, that o'er the deep
Dismantled drives, the sport of every blast,
I speed my way, and hourly wait my doom.
Yet when I trace the many dangers past,
Hope still revives; my destined course I keep,
And trust to fate for happier hours to come.

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A. Æt. 24.

tine and Pisan territories; that the Florentines should pay to them one hundred and eighty thousand ducats, by stated payments of fifteen thousand in each year, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and that the city of Pisa should return to its obedience to Florence, under certain restrictions, by which the administration of justice, both criminal and civil, and the public revenue of the state, were secured to the inhabitants. (a)

His interference ineffectual.

This determination, instead of reconciling the contending parties, was received with disapprobation by all. The Venetians, disappointed in those views of aggrandizement with which they had entered into the war, considered the payment of an annual sum as no alleviation of their vexation and disgrace. The Florentines murmured, that, after the enormous expenses which they had already sustained in the defence of their long-established rights, they should be compelled to reimburse the Venetians to so large an amount; whilst their dominion over the city and territory of Pisa was mutilated and restricted, so that they could not indemnify themselves in that quarter for any part of their expenditure. But above all, the citizens of Pisa exclaimed against the decision of the duke; which they contended would, in effect, deliver them once more into the absolute power of their oppressors, who would soon find a pretext to deprive them of their immunities, and to reduce them to the same disgraceful state of vassalage, under which they had so long laboured. It was to no purpose that the duke attempted, by an ad-

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. iv. vol. i. p. 220.

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The inhabi-
tants of Pisa
resolve to
defend
themselves.

ditional decree, to obviate these objections. The continuance of the war was resolved upon ; and measures were resorted to for the renewal of hostilities, with greater violence than before. (a)

In some respects, however, the contest took a different aspect. From some indications in the course of the treaty, the citizens of Pisa began to suspect, that the Venetians might at length accommodate their differences with the Florentines, and that their city might be considered as the price of reconciliation ; whilst the Venetians, affecting to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the inhabitants, withdrew their troops from the defence of the city, for the purpose, in fact, of securing the possession of such parts of the territory as they might be enabled to occupy. The citizens saw without regret the departure of their doubtful allies ; and with the aid of a few mercenaries, who had been introduced within the walls by the Venetians, and who agreed to join in their defence, they resolved to maintain their independence to the last extremity. (b) The walls of Pisa were of uncommon strength. The fortresses were well provided and garrisoned. The inhabitants were numerous and courageous ; many of them were respectable by their rank and talents ; and an unremitting warfare of several years had habituated them to military fatigues. Above all, their aversion to the government of the Florentines was inextinguishable ; and this sentiment alone supplied every deficiency.

On the other hand the Florentines lost no time

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. iv. vol. i. p. 220.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 221.

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V.A.D. 1499.
A. Æt. 24.

Vitelli effects a breach in the walls, but neglects to avail himself of his advantages.

in availing themselves of the successes which they had already obtained. Besides a considerable body of horse, their army was now increased to ten thousand foot; with which, and the aid of twenty large pieces of artillery, Vitelli attacked the fortress of Stampace, on which the citizens of Pisa chiefly relied for the defence of the city. The exertions of the besieged to repair the breaches, although both sexes, and all descriptions of persons united in the labour, were ineffectual, and an unremitting cannonade of ten days at length levelled a great part of the walls. Of those engaged in the defence, many were slaughtered; the rest took refuge in the city, and were closely pursued by the Florentine troops, who at that moment might in all probability have possessed themselves of the prize for which they had so long contended. Vitelli, however, either did not perceive, or did not choose to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him for terminating the war. Satisfied with the success of the day, in the acquisition of the fortress, and conceiving that the city would now become an easy prey, he restrained the ardour of the soldiery, and allowed the inhabitants to recover from their panic. But although Vitelli had omitted to storm the city, he persevered with the utmost vigilance in such measures as were most likely to compel the inhabitants to surrender; and, in the various means which he adopted for reducing the place, gave striking proofs of those abilities, by which he had obtained his military reputation. The constant use of artillery had again effected a breach in the walls; the soldiers, inflamed with the hopes of plunder, were

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earnest for the attack ; the Florentine commissaries remonstrated with Vitelli on the injudicious and dangerous delays which he manifested in all his proceedings, and a time was at length fixed upon for storming the place, which it was agreed should be the twenty-fourth day of August. But, whilst the fruits of his labours were thus ripening, and seemed only to court his hand, a sudden blight deprived Vitelli of his expected prize. The low and marshy district in the vicinity of Pisa, had combined with the slaughter of the soldiery, to occasion a pestilential distemper in the Florentine camp, which in the course of a few days, made so rapid a progress, that at the time appointed, a sufficient number of troops could not be collected to proceed to the attack. Fresh levies of soldiers were poured in by the Florentines ; but the destructive malignity of the disorder destroyed them more rapidly than they could be replaced. (a) Smitten, like the Greeks before Troy, by an invisible hand, the Florentine troops were compelled to abandon their enterprize, in order to secure a retreat, before the further progress of the disease should so far debilitate them, as to render them an easy conquest to the exasperated and vindictive inhabitants. Vitelli therefore embarked his artillery on the Arno, for the purpose of conveying it to Leghorn ; but by an unfortunate fatality, the greater

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 235. Muratori, Annali d'Ital. ix. 597.* Macchiavelli also alludes to this circumstance in his first Decennale :

“ Lungo sarebbe narrar tutti i torti,
Tutti gl' inganni corsi in quell' assedio,
E tutti i cittadin, per febbre morti.”

part of it fell into the hands of the enemy. Quitting with the remainder of his troops the contagious precincts of Pisa, he proceeded through the Via Marrana towards Cascina. On his arrival at this place, he was met by a deputation from the citizens of Florence, by whom he was made a prisoner, and conducted to that city, where he was put to the torture, for the purpose of inducing him to confess that he had conducted himself with treachery towards the republic. Among other charges against him, it was alleged, that he had held an interview with the Medici in the war of Casentino, and that he had intentionally suffered them to escape, although he had it in his power to have sent them prisoners to Florence, to have received the due reward of their rebellion against their country. His conduct before Pisa was, however, a still more grievous cause of offence; and although no acknowledgment of either guilt or error could be obtained from him, he was ordered to be decapitated; and the sentence was on the same night carried into effect. (a) His brother

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V.

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Vitelli
brought to
Florence
and decapi-
tated.

(a) *Nerli, Commentarii*, vol. iv. p. 84. The unhappy fate of Vitelli is commemorated by Ant. Fr. Ranieri, in the following not inelegant lines :

“ Urbis ut ingratae scelus, et victricia Pauli
Audiit immiti colla resecta manu,
Scipiadum major, Tua quid benefacta, Vitelli,
Quid valere mea? ah, dixit et ingemuit.”

Nardi informs us, that, although no charge but that of disobedience could be proved against Vitelli, before his execution, many of his letters were afterwards discovered which manifested his treachery. *Hist. Fior.* lib. iii. p. 61. This mode of executing a person first, and obtaining the proofs of his guilt afterwards, is not greatly to be commended, and affords too much reason to conjecture, that the documents were fabricated for the purpose of justifying an act of odious and illegal severity.

CHAP.
V.

A.D. 1499.
A. Æt. 24.

Vitellozzo, although at that time labouring under sickness, had the good fortune to effect his escape; and fled to Pisa, with as many of his followers as he could prevail upon to accompany him. He was received with great exultation by the inhabitants, who by their own resolution, and a fortunate concurrence of events, were at length freed from their adversaries, and once more indulged themselves in the hope of establishing the ancient independence of their republic.

CHAP. VI.

1499—1503.

LOUIS XII. resolves to attempt the conquest of Milan and Naples—Forms an alliance with Alexander VI. and the Venetians—The cardinal de' Medici quits Italy—Travels through various parts of Europe—Louis XII. possesses himself of the duchy of Milan—Cæsar Borgia attacks the cities of Romagna—Imprisonment and death of Lodovico Sforza—The cardinal 'de' Medici arrives at Rome—The Florentines again attack Pisa—Cæsar Borgia perseveres in his hostilities against the Italian states—The Medici attempt a fourth time to effect their return to Florence—Cæsar Borgia threatens that city—Treacherous combination between Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain—Federigo, king of Naples, is deprived of his dominions—He retires to France—Gonsalvo betrays the young duke of Calabria—Cæsar Borgia captures the states of Piombino, Camerino, and Urbino—Pietro Soderini preserves Florence from the attacks of Borgia—Is appointed Gonfaloniere for life—Alliance between Cæsar Borgia and Louis XII.—The Italian nobles oppose the proceedings of Borgia—Several of them treacherously put to death by him at Sinigaglia—He seizes on their territories—Death of Alexander VI.—Remarks on his character and conduct.

CHAPTER VI.

WHILST Italy continued to be thus agitated by internal commotions, another storm was gathering beyond the Alps, which soon burst with additional violence on that unhappy country. The attack of Charles VIII. upon the kingdom of Naples was the effect of a puerile ambition; but Louis XII. was a courageous and a politic prince, and the personal experience which he had acquired during the expedition of Charles VIII. in which he had himself borne a principal part, rendered him a still more dangerous enemy. After having openly asserted his pretensions to the crown of Naples and the states of Milan, he began to negotiate with the other powers of Europe, and in particular with the Italian governments, for their assistance or neutrality in the approaching contest.

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A. Æt. 24.
Louis XII.
resolves to
attempt the
conquest of
Milan and
Naples.

In gaining over Alexander VI. to his interests he found but little difficulty. That ambitious pontiff, incessantly aiming at the exaltation of his family, and desirous, beyond measure, of establishing his authority in the kingdom of Naples, where he had already obtained considerable influence, had proposed to Federigo the marriage of Cæsar Borgia with one of his daughters, whose dowry he expected should be the extensive principality of Tarentum. This union was, however,

Forms an
alliance
with Alex-
ander VI.
and the re-
public of
Venice.

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A. Æt. 24.

rejected in the most decisive terms by Federigo ; who, although he was not ignorant that his refusal would draw down upon him the resentment of the pontiff, chose rather to abide its consequences, than assent to an alliance, which he considered as still more dangerous. Thus disappointed in the hopes of aggrandizement which he had so warmly cherished from this quarter, Alexander was prepared for any propositions from the French monarch, which might enable him to gratify his resentment against the king of Naples. A reciprocation of favours had already commenced between Louis XII. and the pope, by which both parties had been highly gratified ; and this connexion was speedily strengthened by the marriage of Cæsar Borgia with Carlotta, daughter of John d'Albert, king of Navarre, (a) and a near relation to Louis XII. and by the promotion of the brother of that princess to the purple. The marriage took place on the twelfth day of May, 1499 ; and from this period Alexander considered himself as devoted to the interests of France, and was ready to employ both his spiritual and temporal arms in her service. (b) The Venetians, disgusted with

(a) Mr. Henke has observed, that Carlotta was not the daughter of John d'Albert, whom Catharine, the sole heiress to the kingdom of Navarre, had chosen for her husband in 1484, but of Alan d'Albert. (*v. Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 297.*)*

(b) When the news of the marriage of Cæsar Borgia, and of his being honoured by Louis XII. with the order of St. Michael, was received at Rome, great rejoicings took place ; which, if we may believe Burchard, were conducted in a manner highly discreditable to the pontiff and the apostolic see. “ Feria quinta vigesima tertia Maii, venit cursor ex Francia, qui nunciavit Sanctissimo Domino nostro, Cæsarem Valentinum Ducem filium suum, olim

the irresolute and treacherous conduct of Lodovico Sforza, had already been induced, by the promise of being put into possession of the city of Cremona, and the district of Ghiaradadda, to enter into a league with Louis XII. to assist him in the recovery of Milan, in which a power was reserved to Alexander VI. to become a party. (a) Of this privilege the pope soon afterwards availed himself; having first stipulated, among other articles, that the states of Imola, Forli, Faenza, and Pesaro, then under the government of their respective lords, should be conquered by the arms of the allies, and united under the sole dominion of Cæsar Borgia.

These portentous transactions were not regarded with an inattentive eye by the cardinal de' Medici. He had now attempted, in conjunction with his brothers, at three different times, to effect the restoration of his family to their native place. The ill fortune or misconduct of Piero had defeated all their endeavours, and every new attempt had only served to increase the violence of their enemies, and to bar the gates of Florence more firmly against

cardinalem, contraxisse matrimonium cum magnifica Domina de Allebretto, a die præsentis mensis; et illud Dominica duodecima ejusdem consummasse. * * * * Venit alius annuncians quod in die pentecostes nona decima hujus, Rex Franciæ assumpsit Ducem prædictum in confratrem confraternitatis Sancti Michaelis, quæ est regia et magni honoris. Fuerant propterea ex mandato Pontificis facti multi ignes per urbem in signum lætitiæ; sed in magnum dedecus et verecundiam Sanctissimi Domini nostri, et ejus sanctæ sedis." *Burchard Diar. v. Appendix to Gordon's Life of Alexander VI.*

(a) This treaty, formed at Blois, and bearing date the fifteenth day of April, 1499, is given in the Corps Diplomatique of Dumont, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 406.

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A. Æt. 24.

The cardinal de' Medici quits Italy, and travels through various parts of Europe.

them. During five years he had been compelled to avail himself successively of the protection of the ancient friends of his family in different parts of Italy ; but as the hope of his restoration to Florence diminished, he began to be regarded as an exile and a fugitive, and in the approaching disturbances of Italy, it was not easy to determine in what part he might find a secure asylum. The city of Rome, which ought to have afforded him a safe and honourable residence, was rendered irksome to him by the vices, and dangerous by the animosity of the pontiff; whilst the Florentines, in order to secure themselves during the approaching commotions, had acceded to the league with France, and thereby cut off from the Medici all hopes of deriving assistance from that power on which they had hitherto relied. Impelled by these circumstances, and perhaps also actuated by the laudable desire of visiting foreign countries, the cardinal determined to quit Italy, and to pass some portion of his time in traversing the principal kingdoms of Europe, till events might arise more favourable to his views. (a)

This design he communicated to his cousin Giulio de' Medici, and it was agreed to form a party of twelve friends ; a number which they considered sufficiently large for their mutual security in the common incidents of a journey, and too small to afford any cause of alarm. Discarding, therefore, the insignia of their rank, and equipping themselves in an uniform manner, they passed through the states of Venice, and visited most of the principal

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d'huomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.*

cities of Germany; assuming in turn the command of their troop, and partaking of all the amusements afforded by continual change of place, and the various manners of the inhabitants. On their arrival at Ulm, their singular appearance occasioned their being detained by the magistrates; but, on their disclosing their quality and purpose, they were sent under a guard to the emperor Maximilian, who received the cardinal with that respect and attention, to which, from the celebrity of his ancestors, and his high rank in the church, he was so well entitled. Far from interrupting their progress, Maximilian highly commended the magnanimity of the cardinal in bearing his adverse fortune with patience; and his judgment and prudence, in applying to the purposes of useful information, that portion of his time, of which he could not now dispose to better advantage. Besides furnishing him with an honourable passport through the German states, Maximilian gave him letters to his son Philip, then governor of the low countries; recommending the cardinal and his companions to his protection and favour. After having passed a considerable time in Germany, the associated friends proceeded to Flanders; where they were received by Philip, not only with hospitality, but with magnificence. The cardinal then intended to have taken shipping, and proceeded to England; but the danger of the voyage deterred his friends from the undertaking; and, at their entreaties, he relinquished his design. (a) They, therefore, bent

(a) "Dal qual finalmente partendo, à Terrovana su' l' oceano si condusse; con pensiero di veder Inghilterra, se da compagni non fosse stato dissuasato; paurosi oltre modo de' flutti di quel vasto e profondissimo mare." *Ammir. Ritratti, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.*

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their course towards France. On their arrival at Rouen they were again seized upon, and detained in custody; and, although the cardinal, and his cousin Giulio, made an immediate discovery of their rank, and represented the object of their journey to be totally unconnected with political concerns; yet, in the state of hostility that had then commenced between the kings of France and of Naples, there appeared to be too much ground for suspicion, to admit of their being speedily released; nor was it until letters were obtained from Piero de' Medici, then in the French camp at Milan, that they were enabled to procure their discharge. Having again obtained their liberty, they proceeded through France, visiting every place deserving of notice, and examining whatever was remarkable till they arrived at Marseilles. After a short stay, they determined to proceed by sea immediately to Rome. The winds being, however, unfavourable, they were compelled to coast the Riviera of Genoa, where having been driven on shore, they thought it advisable to relinquish their voyage, and to proceed by land to Savona. On their arrival at this place they met with the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who had fled thither to avoid the resentment of Alexander VI. A common enmity to that profligate pontiff, and a similarity of misfortunes, rendered their meeting interesting; and three refugees sat at the same table, all of whom were afterwards elevated to the highest dignity in the christian world. The two cousins of the Medici gave an account of the objects which they had met with on their journey; and related the difficulties which they had surmounted by land, and the dangers which they had encountered by sea. The

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cardinal della Rovere recapitulated in his turn the events which had taken place in Italy since their departure, and in which they were so deeply interested. From Savona the cardinal de' Medici repaired to Genoa, where for some time he took up his residence with his sister, Madalena, the wife of Francesco Cibò, who had fixed upon that city as the place of his permanent abode. (a)

Louis XII.
possesses
himself of
the state of
Milan.

During the absence of the cardinal from Rome, a very considerable change had taken place in the political state of Italy. The French army under the command of d' Aubigny had crossed the Alps; and, forming a junction with the troops of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, who had obtained the rank of marshal of France, occupied several of the principal towns in the Milanese, and had at length captured and sacked the capital. It was not without difficulty that Lodovico Sforza effected his escape into the Tyrol. Louis XII. informed of the success of his arms, hastened to Milan, which he entered as sovereign, on the sixth day of October, 1499, amidst the acclamations of the people; who wearied with the tyranny of the usurper, regarded the French as the avengers of his crimes, and the assertors of their rights. (b) On this occasion, the rightful heir to the supreme authority fell into the hands of Louis XII. who tore him from his mother Isabella, and sent him into a monastery in France; whilst Isabella, herself, having witnessed the destruction of her husband and children at Milan, returned to Naples to behold that of her whole family. The arms of the French and their allies in Ita-

(a) *Ammir. Ritratti, Opusc.* vol. iii. p. 66.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. ix. p. 600.

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ly having thus far been successful, the conquering parties began to divide the spoil. The states of Milan and of Genoa were received into the allegiance of the king of France. (a) The city and district of Cremona were surrendered up to the Venetians, as had been previously agreed on; and it only remained to gratify the wishes of Alexander, and his son Cæsar Borgia, by obtaining for the latter the dominion of the several states in Romagna, which had been promised to him as a recompence for the concurrence of the pope in the league with France.

Cæsar Borgia attacks the cities of Romagna.

Cæsar Borgia, now no longer called the cardinal of Valenza, but duke of Valentinois, having obtained a considerable body of French troops, and united them with the papal forces, proceeded to attack the city of Imola, which he soon compelled to capitulate. The fortress of Forli was defended with great courage by Caterina Sforza, the mother of the young prince Ottaviano Riario; but all resistance to so superior a force being ineffectual, she was at length obliged to surrender; and being made a prisoner, was sent to the castle of S. Angelo, at Rome. She was, however, soon afterwards liberated in consequence of the representations of Ivo d'Allegri, who commanded the French troops in the service of Cæsar Borgia, and who was induced, not less from admiration of her courage, than compassion for her sex, to interest himself in her behalf. The further progress of the united armies was prevented by new disturbances in the Milanese, in consequences of which d'Allegri returned with the troops under

(a) v. *Machiavelli, lib. del Principe*, p. 6, ed. 1550.

his command into that district; and Cæsar, hastening to Rome, entered the city on the twenty-sixth day of February, 1500, with extraordinary pomp. (a) A carnival was soon afterwards celebrated, in which he displayed his magnificence at an incredible expense; and, as a reward for his achievements, the pope presented him with the golden consecrated rose, and dignified him with the title of *Gonfaloniere* of the holy Roman church.

The period was now fast approaching in which Lodovico Sforza, the author of so many calamities to his country, and to mankind, was to meet with the retribution that awaited his misdeeds. After having in vain attempted to procure the assistance of the emperor elect Maximilian, he resorted to the mercenary aid of the Swiss, from whom he engaged an army of eight thousand men. With this force, and such additional troops as his own exertions, and those of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, could raise, he suddenly descended into Italy, and passing by the lake of Como, possessed himself of the adjacent city. The commencement of his undertaking was prosperous. The cruelties and enormities practised by the French, had already convinced the people of the error into which they had been led, by a too favourable opinion of their conquerors. The cities of Milan opened their gates to their former sovereign; whose government, though severe, appeared to them kind and lenient, in comparison with the tyranny of the French. Louis XII. was, however, unwilling to relinquish his conquests without further efforts.

Imprisonment and death of Lodovico Sforza.

(a) The particulars of this splendid procession are fully given by Burchard. v. *Appendix*, No. XLVIII.

CHAP.

VI.

A. D. 1500.

A. Æt. 25.

Fresh troops were poured over the Alps; the principal part of which consisted also of Swiss mercenaries, who, to the number of ten thousand, engaged to oppose their own countrymen; and who, joined to six thousand French troops, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, again threatened the destruction of the house of Sforza. The contest between the two armies was concentrated at the city of Novara, from which Lodovico had expelled the French; who still, however, kept possession of the fortress. Whilst the event of the war yet remained uncertain, that treachery, of which Lodovico had so often set the example, was now employed to his own destruction. A secret intercourse had already taken place between the Swiss troops in his service and the French commander. At the moment when he expected to avail himself of their assistance, they suddenly deserted his standard, alleging that they would not oppose their countrymen in battle; and, with the privity and concurrence of the French, took the direct road towards their own country. (a) In attempting to effect his escape, Lodovico was, on the tenth day of April, 1500, made prisoner, with several of his nobility and friends. (b) His own crimes afforded a pretext to Louis XII. for treating him with a degree of cruelty, which, in fact, only served to gratify the resentment of the king,

(a) The treacherous conduct of the Swiss on this occasion was notorious, and is commemorated in the works of several of the writers of the time. *v. Appendix, No. XLIX.*

(b) On the same day that Sforza was made prisoner, the poet Marullus lost his life, in attempting to pass the river Cecina, in the district of Volterra. His untimely fate was a subject of regret to several of his learned friends. *v. Appendix, No. L.*

for the opposition given to his pretensions, and which changed the remembrance of the misconduct of Lodovico into compassion for his misfortunes. Conveyed to the castle of Loches, in the duchy of Berri, (a) he was there inclosed in a dark and lonely chamber; where, daily furnished with the means of life, but deprived of all that could render life tolerable, he languished in solitude and misery the remainder of his existence; a space of ten years.

A. D. 1500.
A. Æt. 25.

Such were the events that had taken place in Italy, during the absence of the cardinal de' Medici, and which speedily prepared the way to still more important alterations. From Genoa the cardinal hastened to Rome, in the expectation that amidst the changes and commotions to which the pretensions of Louis XII. and the ambition of Cæsar Borgia incessantly gave rise, an opportunity might yet occur of restoring the Medici to their former authority in the city of Florence. On his arrival at Rome, the moderation of his conduct, and the respectability of his life, seemed to have effected a change in the disposition of the pope; who, from this time, appears to have laid aside his ill-will, and to have treated the cardinal with the respect and attention due to his rank. But, although this alteration in the conduct of the pope was sufficiently observable, it was not supposed, by those who had the best opportunities of forming a just opinion of these very opposite characters, that Alexander was sincere in his professions of esteem for one whom he had so lately

The cardinal de' Medici returns to Rome.

(a) *Guicciardini*, lib. iv. vol. i. p. 252. *Murat. Annali*, vol. ix. p. 605.

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VI.A. D. 1500.
A. Æt. 25.

The Florentines again attack the city of Pisa, but are repulsed by the inhabitants.

marked as an object of his displeasure. On the contrary it was conjectured, that the crafty pontiff was only desirous of avoiding the imputation of having such a man as the cardinal for his enemy, and of screening himself from the odium which he justly deserved, by inducing a belief, that he lived with him on terms of intimacy and confidence. (a)

The award of the duke of Ferrara for terminating the war respecting the city of Pisa, having been rendered ineffectual by the dissent of all the parties, the Florentines had begun to take measures for repairing their former disasters; and, as they had concurred with the Venetians and the pope, in the league with France, they conceived that they were also entitled to derive some advantage from the successes of the allies, towards which they had contributed by sending to the aid of the king a considerable body of troops. (b) These pre-

(a) "Cum enim vitam moresque tuos ab ineunte ætate considero, cum castissime superatam adolescentiam, juventutem actam gravissime atque sanctissime, cum præterea intueor quanta animi fortitudine atque constantia paupertatem, diuturnumque exilium toleraveris; qua prudentia, errore fortasse aliquo, gravem tibi adversarium Alexandrum pontificem maximum, eo deduxeris facilitate tua et suavissimis moribus, ut non modo odium dissimulare vellet, sed etiam ad declinandam invidiam, se tibi cuperet haberi amicissimum," &c. *Greg. Cortesii Ep. ad Leon. X. inter ejusd. ep. fam. p. 249. Ven. 1573.*

(b) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 254.* The frequent introduction of the "siege of Pisa," may perhaps remind the reader of the sarcasm of Boccacini, where he pretends that the Laconic senate condemned an unfortunate author, who had been convicted of using three words, where two were sufficient, to read once over the War of Pisa by Guicciardini; but that the culprit, after having with great agony laboured through the first page, requested his judges would send him to the galleys for life, rather than compel him to

tensions were urged with great eagerness; inso-
much, that the cardinal of Rohan, who governed
the Milanese states on behalf of Louis XII. was
at length prevailed upon to furnish the Florentines
with a body of six hundred horse, and eight thou-
sand Swiss soldiers, accompanied by a formidable
train of artillery, and a supply of ammunition, for
the purpose of reducing the citizens of Pisa to
obedience. (a) With this aid, and a considerable
additional body of Italian mercenaries, the Floren-
tines again assaulted that unfortunate city; which
the inhabitants had fortified to the utmost of their
power. The besieged did not, however, wholly
rely either on the strength of their ramparts, or
on their own courage; but had recourse to arti-
fice and negotiation for mitigating the violence, or
obviating the effects of the threatened attack. To
this end, they despatched their envoys to the
French governors in Milan and Genoa, as well as
to Beaumont, the commander of the French troops
destined for the assault, proposing to deliver up
the city to the French king, provided he would
receive them as his subjects, and afford them his
protection. (b) To this offer Ravestan, the go-
vernor of Genoa, expressed his assent, but Beau-
mont still persevered in the attack; and, having
at length succeeded in demolishing a part of the
walls, he ordered his troops to commence the as-
sault. An ill-disciplined and tumultuous body of
horse and foot rushed towards the city; but al-

go through with his labour. *Boccalin. Ragguag.* vi. Guicciardini
enjoys his reputation and the critic his jest.

(a) *Nardi. Hist. Fior.* lib. iv. p. 55, &c.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. v. vol. ii. p. 256.

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VI.A.D. 1500.
A. Æt. 25.

though the walls were destroyed, an immense trench, which the industry of the inhabitants had formed within them, with an additional rampart, unexpectedly opposed their further progress. (a) In one moment the daring assailants were converted into astonished spectators, and the remainder of the day was passed without any effort to surmount the difficulty. The offers made to the king of France now began to produce their effects. Many of the French officers were favourable to the cause of the inhabitants. An amicable intercourse soon took place between them, and they who had been repulsed as enemies, were now admitted as friends. By this communication, and the long delay to which it gave rise, the discipline of the besieging army was wholly destroyed. A general mutiny took place, in which the soldiery seized upon the supplies intended for the siege, sacked the camp, and took prisoner the Florentine commissary, Luca d'Albizi, on a pretext that the arrears of their pay had not been duly discharged. No sooner was the besieging army dispersed, than the troops in the city sallied out, and proceeding to Librafatta, a garrison-town on the Tuscan frontier, with great intrepidity scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of the place; which was of the utmost importance to their safety, as it opened to them all the country towards Lucca. (b) Nor did the misfortunes of the Florentines terminate here. Louis XII. exasperated beyond measure at the dishonour which the French arms had sustained in this enterprize,

(a) *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* lib. iv. p. 56.(b) *Guicciard.* lib. v. vol. i. p. 257.

accused the Florentines of having rendered it abortive by their own parsimony and imprudence. The Florentines were earnest to justify themselves; for which purpose they despatched two ambassadors to the king; one of whom was the celebrated Nicolo Macchiavelli; (a) but their representations were of little avail; and it was only by the payment of a certain sum, for the support, as the king pretended, of the Swiss troops on their return to Milan, that they were again received into favour. The resentment of the monarch being thus pacified, he once more proposed to afford them his assistance. But the Florentines, suspecting, perhaps, that he had himself designs upon the city of Pisa, or being already so far exhausted, as to be unable to bear the expenses which a new attempt must inevitably occasion, thought proper to decline his further aid.

In the mean time Cæsar Borgia persevered in his attempt to subdue the cities of Romagna. By the assistance of the French troops he soon possessed himself of Pesaro, the patrimony of Giovanni Sforza; and of Rimini, then subject to Pandolfo Malatesti. The conquest of Faenza was an undertaking of greater difficulty. Such was the attachment of the inhabitants to their young sovereign, Astorre Manfredi, then only seventeen years of age, that the utmost efforts of the assailants were unable to reduce the place until the following year, when the city surrendered to the French and papal arms. Even then the possession was only obtained under the sanction of honourable capitulation, by which the young prince,

Cæsar Borgia perseveres in his attempts on the Italian states.

(a) *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 67.*

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VI.A. D. 1501.
A. Æt. 26.

who had already distinguished himself by his military talents, was to hold a respectable rank in the service of Cæsar Borgia. No sooner, however, had that implacable tyrant secured his person, than he sent him, accompanied by his natural brother, to Rome; where they were both put to death. (a) He then turned his arms against Bologna, where he had already a secret communication with some of the principal citizens, whom he had seduced to espouse his cause; but Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the supreme authority, having discovered the intrigue, seized upon several of the conspirators, who were immediately slaughtered by his adherents; and, having diligently attended to the defence of the city, prevented, for a time, the further progress of the usurper, who had intended to constitute Bologna the capital of his new government; of which the pope had already granted him the investiture, by the title of duke of Romagna. (b)

The Medici
attempt a
fourth time
to effect
their return
to Florence.]

Whilst Cæsar Borgia, thus checked in his career, was hesitating against whom he should next lead the formidable body of troops, of which he had obtained the command, the Medici conceived that a favourable opportunity was once more afforded them, of regaining their former authority in the city of Florence. The want of ability and energy in the government of that place became daily more conspicuous. The city, exhausted of its wealth, was distracted by tumults; whilst the Tuscan territories were disgraced by dissensions and feuds among the principal families. In this

(a) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 262.*

(b) *Jovii, vita Leonis X. lib. i. p. 24.*

situation of affairs, Piero de' Medici, encouraged by the Venetians, and supported by the Orsini, and by Vitellozzo Vitelli, whose animosity to the Florentines on account of the death of his brother Paolo was inextinguishable, hastened to the camp of Cæsar Borgia, and endeavoured to convince him of the advantages which he would derive from marching his troops into the Florentine territory, and effecting a change in the government. (a) At the same time Giuliano de' Medici suddenly presented himself at the court of Louis XII. who was then highly displeased with the Florentines, and, by the promise of a large subsidy for the support of the expedition against Naples, and the assurances of a constant devotion to the French government, obtained from the king the promise of his support in the intended enterprize. (b) But Cæsar Borgia, although he received Piero de' Medici with apparent kindness, and even promised to promote his cause, had no object less at heart than the restoration of the Medici to Florence; (c) having already formed designs more

(a) "Dux Valentinus fecit mirabilia magna solus in Flaminia, jactaturque vulgo, et rumor increbrescit, quod ubi Faventiam, Bononiamque expugnaverit, velit ferro aperire iter *Petro Medici*, ut hic plusquam civis (facinus magnum) tantæ civitati imperitet." *Aug. Vespucci Ep. ad Nic. Macch. ap. Band. Coll. Vet. Mon.* p. 52.

(b) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 263.*

(c) *Guicciardini*, on the authority of particular and private information, relates, that Cæsar had long borne a secret enmity against Piero de' Medici, on account of a circumstance which had occurred whilst Cæsar was pursuing his studies at Pisa, before his father was raised to the pontificate. Having occasion to resort to the assistance of Piero, on behalf of one of his friends, who was implicated in some criminal transaction, he had hastened

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conducive to his own interest. He considered, however, that, in the deranged state of the affairs of Florence, he could not fail, either of occupying some desirable part of their territory, or of obtaining such terms as might be favourable to the prosecution of his favourite project, the establishment of the duchy of Romagna. Nor is it improbable that he had indulged the hope of availing himself of some fortunate concurrence of circumstances to subjugate to his own authority the whole of the Tuscan state.

Cæsar Borgia turns his arms against Florence, but is ordered to desist by Alexander VI.

About the beginning of the month of May, 1501, Cæsar descended with his army, consisting of seven thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, (a) from Romagna, into the district of Mugello, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Barberino. He was here joined by a body of troops from Bologna, which had been sent to his assistance by Bentivoglio, in pursuance of a treaty concluded between them. (b) From Barberino, Cæsar despatched his envoys to Florence, to acquaint the citizens with the purpose of his approach, and to prescribe to them the terms on which alone he would withdraw his troops. Of these proposals, as preserved by Nardi, (c) the principal were, that

from Pisa to Florence; but after waiting some hours for an audience, whilst Piero was engaged in business, or amusement, he had returned, not only without effecting his purpose, but without having obtained an interview. Trivial as this incident may appear, it must be remembered, that the resentment of wounded pride is of all others the most violent, and that the soul of Borgia knew not how to forgive. *v. Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 264.*

(a) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 264.*

(b) *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 71.*

(c) *Ibid. p. 72.*

the Florentines should pay him a considerable stipend, as their *Condottiero*; that they should not interfere with him in his meditated attack upon the other states of Italy, and particularly that of Piombino, then under the protection of Florence; that they should deliver up to him six of the principal citizens as hostages, to be named by Vitellozzo; and lastly, that they should restore Piero de' Medici to his former honours, or should otherwise make such an alteration in the government, as might secure on their part the performance of the proposed treaty. No sooner were these propositions heard in the city, than they excited the highest indignation; insomuch, that the magistrates, whilst deliberating on the measures to be adopted, could scarcely be secured from the violence of the people. But, whilst the negotiation was depending, and the result was yet uncertain, Cæsar received peremptory orders from the pope, to abstain from any further proceedings against the Florentines. In consequence of this mandate, he unwillingly withdrew his troops; not, however, without obtaining the appointment of *Condottiero* to the republic, with an annual income of thirty-six thousand ducats, and a stipulation that he should not be obliged to serve in person. (a) The motives that induced Alexander VI. thus to interfere in the designs of Cæsar Borgia, arose from the representations of Louis XII. who, although he might have consented to the restoration of the family of Medici to their former authority in Florence, was too well apprized of the character of Alexander VI. and his son, to permit

(a) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 265.*

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them to obtain such an ascendancy in that city, as must have resulted from their being the instruments of such restoration. Nor was it difficult to perceive, that an influence so extensive as the family of Borgia would then have acquired, might, in case of a rupture with the pope, have formed an effectual barrier against the projected invasion of the kingdom of Naples; on which account Louis had given positive directions to his general d'Aubigny, that in case Cæsar did not, on the first representation to him, evacuate the Florentine dominions, he should employ all his forces to compel him to retreat.

Treacherous
conduct of
Louis XII.
and Ferdi-
nand of
Spain to-
ward Fede-
rigo, king of
Naples.

Whilst Cæsar Borgia was thus industriously attempting, by fraud or by force, to establish an independent authority in Italy, another event took place, which surpassed his crimes, in treachery and injustice, and in the extent of the theatre on which it was transacted, no less than he was himself surpassed in rank and importance by the perpetrators. Federigo, king of Naples, had commenced his reign with the affection of his people; and his disposition and talents were well calculated to promote their happiness. Even those who had revolted, or quitted the country, under the reigns of Ferdinand I. and Alfonso II. had returned with confidence to their allegiance; and the princes of Salerno and Bisignano were among the first to salute him as their sovereign. (a) Federigo, on his part, lost no opportunity of confirming the favourable opinion already entertained of him. Instead of persecuting such of the nobility as had espoused the cause of the French, he

(a) *Giannone, Storia di Napoli*, vol. iii. p. 391.

restored to them their domains and fortresses. He patronized and liberally rewarded the many eminent scholars, by whom the city of Naples was distinguished, and who had been injured or exiled during the late commotions; and, as an indication of the tenor of conduct which he meant to adopt, he struck a medal, with a device, alluding to the better order of things which he meant to establish. (a) But, although the reign of Federigo commenced under the happiest auspices, it was not destined to be of long duration; and whilst he supposed that every day gave additional security to his authority, the kings of France and of Spain had, by a secret treaty, divided between them his dominions, and formed a scheme for carrying their purpose into effect. This plan, which has served as a model on subsequent occasions, was, that the king of France should assert his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as representative of the house of Anjou; the infallible consequence of which would be, that Federigo would resort for assistance to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who should send over a considerable military force, under the pretext of opposing the French; but that, as soon as the latter arrived, the Spanish troops should unite their arms with their pretended adversaries, expel the family of Aragon, and divide the kingdom between

(a) This device represented a book in the flames, surmounted by the crown of Naples, with the motto, *RECEDANT VETERA*. The life, character, and conduct of Federigo are particularly noticed by Sanazzaro, in a Latin elegy, wholly devoted to that purpose; and which merits perusal, no less as an interesting historical monument, than as a beautiful poem. v. *Sanaz. Eleg.* lib. iii. el. 1.

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the two sovereigns. By this treaty the king of France was to possess the city of Naples, the provinces called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzo, with a moiety of the income arising from the pastures of Apulia, and was to assume, in addition to his titles of king of France and duke of Milan, that of king of Naples and Jerusalem. The districts of Calabria and Apulia, with the other moiety of the income, were allotted to the king of Spain, who was to style himself duke of those provinces. This treaty, which bears date the eleventh day of November, 1500, is yet extant ; (a) and, if the moral sense of mankind be not extinguished by the subsequent repetition of such enormities, will consign the memory of these royal plunderers to merited execration.

Louis XII.
attacks the
territory of
Naples.

Preliminaries being thus adjusted, Louis XII. began openly to prepare for the intended attack, the direction of which he confided to his general d'Aubigny ; who commenced his expedition at the head of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Federigo was no sooner apprized of this measure than he despatched information of it to Gonsalvo, the Spanish general, who had withdrawn his troops into Sicily, on the pretence that he might be in readiness, in case his assistance should again be required in the kingdom of Naples. On the arrival of Gonsalvo, the king confided to his care the fortified places in Calabria, which the Spanish general pretended were necessary for the security of his army. Federigo had also raised a considerable body of troops, which had been rein-

(a) *Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique*, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 444.

forced by those of the Colonna; with which, when joined by the Spanish army, he expected to be enabled to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of the French. All Italy was in suspense, and a contest far more bloody than had of late occurred, was expected to plunge that country into new calamities. A short time, however, removed all apprehensions on this head. No sooner had the French troops made their appearance in the Roman territories, than the envoys of the allied monarchs met at Rome; where, entering together into the consistory, they notified to the pope and cardinals the treaty already formed, and the consequent division of the kingdom of Naples. The convenient pretext of the promotion of the christian faith, by a war against the infidels, for the preparations necessary to which, it was asserted, that kingdom afforded the most convenient station, was the mask under which their *most catholic* and *most christian* majesties affected to hide from the world the deformity of their crime.

The stipulations thus agreed upon met with no opposition from Alexander VI. who had now an opportunity of gratifying the resentment which he had so long harboured against the king of Naples. On the twenty-fifth day of June, 1501, a pontifical bull deprived Federigo of his dominions, and divided them between the two monarchs, in the shares before mentioned. (a) The

(a) The bull of Alexander VI. by which he divides the kingdom of Naples between the French and Spanish monarchs, is published by Rousset, in his supplement to the *Corps Diplomatique* of Du Mont. vol. iii. p. 1.

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intelligence of this alliance, and of its consequences, struck Federigo with terror; but Gonsalvo, pretending to discredit it, continued to give him the most positive assurances of his assistance. No sooner, however, had the French army entered the Neapolitan territory, than he avowed his instructions, and immediately sent off from Naples to Spain, in vessels already provided for that purpose, the two dowager queens, one of whom was the sister, and the other the niece of the Spanish king. Federigo persevered in the defence of his rights; and intrusting the command of the city of Naples to Prospero Colonna, determined to make his first resistance at Capua. (a) D'Aubigny had, however, already possessed himself of the adjacent country; the king was obliged to return with his army from Aversa to Naples; and Capua, being taken by assault on the twenty-fifth day of July, was sacked by the French, with circumstances of peculiar cruelty and unexampled licentiousness. (b) The loss of Capua was speedily followed by the capitulation of the city of Naples, which purchased an exemption from plunder by the payment of seventy thousand ducats to the invaders. Federigo withdrew himself into the *Castel-nuovo*, which he refused to surrender till he had effected a treaty with d'Aubigny, by which he was to be allowed to retire to the island of Ischia, and to retain it for six months, and was also to be at liberty to remove

(a) To this period we may apply the sonnet of Cariteo:

“ Mentre che d'Aragona il sommo honore
Tra Galli e Cimbri il suo destrier raggira.”

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. v. vol. i. p. 268.

from the *Castel-nuovo* and *Castel dell' Uovo* whatever he might think proper, excepting the artillery. In negotiating for his own safety, he did not forget that of his subjects. A general amnesty was to be granted of all transactions since Charles VIII. had quitted the city of Naples; and the cardinals of Aragon and Colonna were to enjoy their ecclesiastical revenues arising from that kingdom. In the commencement of this contest, Federigo had sent his infant son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, to Tarentum, under the care of the count of Potenza. The rest of the wretched family of Aragon were now assembled on the barren rock of Ischia. This family consisted of his queen Isabella and a numerous train of children; his sister Beatrice, the widow of the great Mattia Corvino, king of Hungary, and his niece, Isabella, the widow of Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan; who, already deprived of her sovereign rank, her husband, and her son, now saw the completion of her ruin in that of her royal relations. (a)

(a) The poet Cariteo has paid the last tribute of duty and affection to his unfortunate sovereign, in the second *Cantico* of his *Metamorphosi*, in which he introduces the city of Naples, the lovely Parthenope, lamenting her lost glory and happiness, and contrasting them with the disgraceful state of servitude to which she was reduced by her conquerors:

“ Libera fui gran tempo; hor son captiva;

In man di feri monstri, horrendi e diri.”

A considerable part of the poem is devoted to the commemoration of the female part of the family; four of whom, then living, had sat upon a regal throne, and the fifth had enjoyed sovereign rank as duchess of Milan:

“ Ove siete, O Joanne, ambe regine,

D'Ausonia, e d'Aragonia ambe ornamento,

Per virtute e bellezze ambe divine?

Ove

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France.

This deeply meditated act of treachery, to which Federigo had fallen a victim, whilst it excited in him the highest indignation against his perfidious relative Ferdinand of Spain, inspired him with a disgust of the cares and the dangers of royalty, and induced him to seek for repose in a less enviable station. Having therefore obtained a passport from Louis XII. he left his family at Ischia, under the care of the marquis del Vasto, and proceeding directly to France, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the king, so far as to afford him the means of fulfilling his wishes. No longer regarding him as a rival, but as a suppliant, Louis acceded to his request, and an annual income of thirty thousand ducats, with the title of duke of Anjou, secured to him opulence and repose during the remainder of his days. Historians have accused him of pusillanimity in thus relinquishing,

Ove e Beatrice ; ov' il grande incremento
Del valor d'Aragon ? di re sorella,
Figlia, e consorte ? e di lor gloria aumento ?
Hor per te cresce il duolo, alma Isabella ;
Di Re feconda madre, e di virtute,
E di Re guida, orientale stella.

* * *

Verace ardente amor, costante e fiso,
Vuol ch' in l' altra Isabella sempre io pensi,
Che i thesauri del ciel porta nel viso !
Duchessa di Milan ; di cui gli accensi
Rai di bellezza efflagran sì nel volto,
Che sveglian di ciascun gli ignavi sensi," &c.

Boccalini has selected the example of this last accomplished lady as the most unfortunate on historical record—"unica nelle disgrazie"—on which account he represents her, in his imaginary Parnassus, as reduced to the necessity of supporting herself by selling matches through the streets. *Ragguag. di Parnaso*, 75.

for an inferior title, his pretensions to a crown, which, in the dissensions that soon afterwards arose between the two successful monarchs, he might in all probability have recovered; but Federigo had sufficiently experienced the treachery and ingratitude of mankind; and, having in vain attempted to promote the happiness of others, he perhaps chose a wiser part in securing his own.

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The regrets of the muses, whom he had so generously protected during his prosperity, followed him to his retreat. Sanazzaro, who accompanied him on his expedition into France, seems to consider the events that then took place, to be, as indeed they afterwards proved, the final destruction of the Neapolitan branch of the house of Aragon. (*a*)

(*a*) “ O fatum infelix ! O sors malefida ! quid illic
Egimus ? O tristī mersa carina loco ! ”

Sannaz. El. lib. iii. el. 2.

Federigo died at Tours in the year 1504, at fifty-two years of age. The Neapolitan historians feelingly regret the loss of a line of monarchs, who had for a long course of years rendered Naples the seat of magnificence, opulence, and learning; and of whom the last was the most deserving, and the most unfortunate. “ Principe cotanto saggio,” says Giannone, (lib. xxix. cap. iv.) “ e di molte lettere adorno, che a lui, non men che a Ferdinando suo padre, deve Napoli il ristoramento delle discipline, e delle buone lettere.” Sanazzaro on this occasion sold the remainder of his hereditary possessions to relieve the necessities of his sovereign, and remained with him to the time of his death; having taken his farewell of his native country in the following beautiful verses :

“ Parthenope mihi culta, vale, blandissima Siren;
Atque horti valeant, Hesperidesque tuæ;
Mergillina, vale, nostri memor; et mea flentis
Serta cape, heu domini munera avara tui.
Maternæ salvete umbræ; salvete, paternæ;
Accipite et vestris turea dona focis.

Neve

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Gonsalvo
betrays the
young duke
of Calabria.

The last place in Naples that resisted the arms of the Spanish monarch, was the city of Tarentum, whither the duke of Calabria had been sent by his father, as to a place of security. The command of the castle was entrusted to Leonardo Napolitano, a knight of Rhodes; but he, being reduced to extremities by Gonsalvo, agreed, with the consent of the count of Potenza, to surrender the city and fortress, if succour did not arrive in the space of four months; Gonsalvo binding himself by the solemnity of an oath, on the holy sacrament, that the duke of Calabria should be at liberty to proceed whithersoever he thought proper. On the surrender of Tarentum, the duke expressed his intention to follow his father into France; but Gonsalvo, disregarding his oath, sent him to Ferdinand of Spain, in which country he continued during the life of that monarch, in a sort of honourable captivity. (a)

Neve nega optatos, virgo Sebethias, amnes;
Absentique tuas det mihi somnus aquas.
Det fesso æstivas umbras sopor; et levis aura
Fluminaque ipsa suo lene sonent strepitu;
Exilium nam sponte sequor. Fors ipsa favebit
Fortibus hæc solita est sæpe et adesse viris.
Et mihi sunt comites musæ; sunt numina vaturn;
Et mens læta suis gaudet ab auspiciis,
Blanditurque animo constans sententia; quamvis
Exili meritum sit satis ipsa fides."

Epigr. lib. iii. ep. 7. ed. Com.

(a) On the accession of Charles V. to the Spanish monarchy, the prince obtained the particular favour of that monarch, by refusing to place himself at the head of the Spanish insurgents in the year 1522. His wife, Mencia di Mendoza, dying without children, Charles gave him, in a second marriage, Germana de Foix, niece to Louis XII. of France, and widow of Ferdinand of Aragon; a rich bride, but not likely to bear a progeny, On the

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If the descent of Louis XII. into Italy interrupted the progress of Cæsar Borgia in effecting the conquest of Romagna, the part which he had taken, in uniting his arms with those of the French on this occasion, enabled him to return to his former undertaking with a greater prospect of success. The first object towards which he directed his attention, was the city of Piombino, then held in subjection by Jacopo d' Appiano. To the attack of this place he despatched two of his generals, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and Gian-Paolo Baglione. Jacopo did not, however, wait their arrival; but, leaving a garrison in the place, precipitately fled into France, expecting by his representations to Louis XII. to prevail upon that monarch to prohibit the further progress of the papal arms. His endeavours were, however, ineffectual, and Piombino soon afterwards capitulated to the invaders. The territory of Urbino, consisting of four cities, and thirty fortified places, next attracted the ambitious views of the conqueror; but the duke Guidubaldo, instead of affording any pretext for hostilities against him, had frequently fought the battles of the church. His courage was indisputable; and his amiable qualities, and excellent endow-

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Cæsar Borgia captures the states of Piombino, Urbino, and Camerino.

death of this prince, which happened in the year 1550, this branch of the family of Aragon became extinct; his two younger brothers and two sisters having all died without offspring. Before the marriage of Federigo, king of Naples, with his queen Isabella, he had been married to Anna, daughter of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, by whom he left a daughter, Carlotta, and from her the dukes of Tremouille in France have claimed their descent; in consequence of which, they have in much later times asserted their rights to the crown of Naples. *v. Giannone, Storia di Napoli, lib. xxix. cap. iv. vol. iii. p. 406.*

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ments, had secured the affections of his people. Despairing of effecting his purpose by an open attack, Cæsar, on this occasion, resorted to treachery. He marched, at the head of a powerful army, to Nocera, avowing his intention of attacking the state of Camerino. Thence he despatched an embassy to the duke of Urbino, requesting the assistance of his artillery, and as many soldiers as he could furnish. His request was instantly complied with ; but no sooner had Cæsar deprived the duke of the means of defence, than he turned his own arms against him ; and possessing himself of Cagli, proceeded by rapid marches towards Urbino. Alarmed, not only for his dominions but for his life, Guidubaldo, with his nephew Francesco Maria della Rovere, hastily quitted the city in disguise, and, though vigilantly pursued, had the good fortune to escape to Mantua, where he met with his wife Isabella ; who, after having accompanied Lucretia Borgia to Ferrara, on the recent celebration of her nuptials with Alfonso d' Este, son of the duke, had passed to Mantua to visit the marquis her brother. Having thus obtained the duchy of Urbino, Cæsar attacked the states of Camerino ; and having, under pretext of a treaty, gotten into his power Giulio da Varano, lord of that country, with two of his sons, he treacherously put them to death, and rendered himself master of their dominions. (a)

The success which attended Cæsar Borgia in all his undertakings, had attracted to his standard many of the most eminent *condottieri*, or military adventurers of Italy. Among these were Vitelloz-

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 9.

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Pietro Soderini preserves Florence from the attacks of Borgia, and is appointed *gonfaloniere* for life.

zo Vitelli lord of Città di Castello, Francesco Orsino duke of Gravina, Pandolfo Petrucci lord of Siena, Paolo Orsino, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Oliverotto da Fermo. By the assistance of these leaders, and the exertion of his own unrivalled talents in the art of dissimulation, he still continued to extend his conquests. Encouraged by the number of his adherents, and the favour of the king of France, he again turned his views towards the territories of Florence, which were suddenly assailed on all sides by his arms. The city of Cortona, the towns of Anghieri and Borgo San-Sepolcro, and even the city of Arezzo, surrendered to the invaders. As the difficulties of the Florentines increased, the hopes of the Medici revived; and uniting their power with their relations and auxiliaries, the Orsini, they joined the forces of Borgia, whose rapid progress left no reason to doubt that the Florentines would soon be obliged to surrender up their city at the discretion of the conquerors. In this alarming emergency the principal inhabitants met together, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for averting the dangers with which they were threatened; when Pietro Soderini had the good sense to point out the only expedient that could preserve them from ruin. After expatiating on the deplorable state of the republic, and the impracticability of obtaining assistance from any other quarter, he recommended, that an embassy should be despatched to Louis XII. to request his interference on their behalf, in pursuance of a treaty lately formed between him and the Florentines. (a) He did yet more; he took upon him-

(a) The treaty for protecting the republic is dated the nine-

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self the office of ambassador, and, hastening to the king, laid before him such cogent reasons for granting his aid to the republic, as induced that monarch to comply with his request. (a) Messengers were immediately despatched to the pope and his son, to admonish them against further proceedings; and, lest these should be ineffectual, a considerable body of troops was directed to enter the Tuscan territories, not only to repel those in the service of Borgia, then under the command of Vitellozzo, but to obtain the restitution of the places which had submitted to his arms. (b) Measures so decisive, from a quarter so powerful, admitted of no opposition. Vitellozzo and the Florentine exiles reluctantly drew off their troops; Soderini was regarded as the saviour of the republic, and was soon afterwards honoured with a more extensive and durable authority than any citizen had before enjoyed, under the novel title of *Gonfaloniere for Life*.

As the hopes of Cæsar Borgia were principally
teenth day of November, 1501, at Blois. v. *Lunig*. vol. i. p. 1142.

(a) *Ammirato*, *Hist. Fior.* lib. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 267. *Nardi*, *Hist. Fior.* lib. iv. p. 81.

(b) These events are commemorated by Machiavelli, in his *Decennale* :

“ E perchè Valentin havea fatto alto
Con le sue genti a Nocera, e quindi preso
Il ducato d’Urbino, sol con un salto,
Stavi co’l cuor, e con l’alma sospeso,
Che co’l Vitello e’ non si raccozzassi,
E con quel fusse a’ vostri danni sceso,
Quando a l’un commandò che si fermassi
Pe’ vostri prieghi il Re di San Dionigi
A l’altro furo i suoi disegni cassi.” *Decen.* lib. i. p. 65.

founded on the favour of Louis XII. he was greatly alarmed at this unexpected opposition to his projects; and hastening in person to the king at Asti, (a) he endeavoured to remove the unfavourable suspicions entertained respecting him, by representing the prompt obedience which he had paid to his orders, imputing the attempt upon Florence wholly to the animosity of Vitellozzo and the Orsini against that republic, and to the desire of the Medici to be again admitted as chiefs of the city. Satisfied by his protestations, and desirous of conciliating the favour of the pope, in the disputes which had already arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples, Louis not only received him into favour, but formed with him a treaty of alliance, by which the parties stipulated to afford to each other mutual assistance; and it was particularly agreed, that Cæsar should be furnished with a troop of French horse to enable him to enforce his claims against the feudatories of the church. (b)

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Alliance between Cæsar Borgia and Louis XII.

The event of this interview occasioned great alarm to many of the principal commanders, who were engaged in the service of Borgia, and who held the supreme authority in different cities of Italy. A diet was convoked in Perugia, at which the cardinal, and Paolo Orsini, the duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Gianpaolo Baglioni, Oliverotto da Fermo, and others, were present; when the conduct of Cæsar Borgia was fully discussed, and it was resolved, that decisive measures should

Formidable opposition to the proceedings of Borgia.

(a) "E'l Duca in Asti si fu presentato

Per giustificar se col re Luigi." *Decen. lib. i. p. 65.*

(b) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 288.*

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be taken for restraining his further progress. (a) As the intelligence of this alliance became public, the different states which had before submitted to the dominion of Borgia, began to oppose his authority; and in particular the inhabitants of Urbino, having seized upon the fortress of that place, disclaimed their dependence on him, and recalled their former prince. Deprived at once of the assistance of his principal commanders, who had suddenly avowed themselves his enemies, and of the greater part of his troops, Borgia retreated for safety to Imola, where his hopes were unexpectedly revived by an embassy from the Florentines; who, having been solicited to unite in the league against him, had not only rejected the proposal, but despatched to him their secretary, Niccolò Machiavelli, to assure him of their assistance against his revolted commanders. The joint efforts of these two accomplished proficient in mischief, could not fail of producing some extraordinary result, and accordingly a plan was adopted for the destruction of their adversaries, to which, in the annals of treachery, it will be difficult to find a parallel. This transaction the Florentine historian has thought deserving of a particular narrative, in which he affects not to conceal the

(a) Machiavelli, the constant apologist of Cæsar Borgia, thus characterizes the members of this diet, in his first Decennale:

“ E rivolti fra lor questi serpenti
Di velen pien, cominciaro à ghermirsi,
E con li ugnoni a straciarsi e co' denti.
E mal potendo il Valentin fuggirsi,
Gli bisognò per ischifare il rischio,
Con lo scudo di Francia ricoprirsi.” *Dec. lib. i. p. 66.*

features of guilt under the slightest covering of decency. (a) CHAP.
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From this narrative we learn, that the troops of Borgia, having been attacked by those of the Vitelli and Orsini, near Fossombrone, were put to the rout; in consequence of which, Borgia, perceiving no possibility of resisting his enemies by force, endeavoured to engage them in a negotiation. As he was a most accomplished dissembler, he represented to them, that the efforts which he had made in subjugating the different states of Romagna, were intended no less for their interest than his own, and that, provided they would allow him the title of sovereign, the sovereignty itself should remain at their direction. These blandishments were not without their effect, and Paolo Orsino was deputed by his colleagues to carry on the treaty; but Cæsar, instead of relaxing in his preparations, continued by every possible means, to increase the number of his adherents, distributing his new levies, both of horse and foot, in separate detachments throughout Romagna, so as to avoid all cause of suspicion. The arrival of five hundred horsemen from the king of France was a most seasonable reinforcement; but although he might now have contended with his adversaries in the field, he judged it more expedient to proceed in the execution of his plan, and to continue the negotiation already entered into. The terms of amity were at length agreed upon; in consequence of which, he received his

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Several of
the Italian
nobles trea-
cherously
put to death
by Borgia at
Sinigaglia.

(a) *Descrittione del modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino nello ammazzare Vitellozzi Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il Signor Pagolo ed il Duca di Gravina Orsini.*

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former commanders again into his employ, and agreed to pay to each of them four thousand ducats in advance. He also engaged not to molest Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had joined in the league; nor to require the personal attendance of his new allies, in case it might not be agreeable to them. On their part they promised to restore to him the duchy of Urbino, with all the other places which they had occupied; to serve him in all his expeditions; and not to engage in any undertaking, or afford their assistance to any other power, without his assent.

On the conclusion of this league the duke of Urbino again deserted his capital, and took shelter at Venice, having first dismantled the fortresses within his states, to the end that they might not be garrisoned by his enemies, for the purpose of keeping in subjection a people ardently devoted to the cause of their sovereign.

This arrangement being completed, and his own troops, with his French auxiliaries distributed throughout Romagna, Cæsar left Imola and proceeded to Cesena; where he met the envoys of his new allies, and deliberated with them towards what part of Italy they should next turn their arms. No decisive measures being concluded on, Oliverotto da Firmo was deputed by these depredators to propose to Borgia another attack upon the Tuscan states; or, if he should not approve of this project, to offer their concurrence in attacking the city of Sinigaglia, then held by Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of the duke of Urbino. With the former of these proposals Borgia refused to comply, alleging, that the Floren-

times were his friends; but the attack on Sinigaglia met with his entire approbation. That place was accordingly soon invested and captured; but the fortress held out for some time, the commander being unwilling to surrender it to any one but to Borgia himself; for which reason his allies entreated that he would hasten to the place. This circumstance seemed to Cæsar to offer a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose, without giving rise to suspicion; his visit to Sinigaglia appearing to be at the request of his allies, and not from his own choice. Still further to avoid all cause of offence, he dismissed his French auxiliaries. Reserving only one hundred horse, under the command of one of his relations, and quitting Cesena about the end of December, he proceeded to Fano, where he employed all his artifice and sagacity to prevail upon the Vitelli and the Orsini to wait his arrival in Sinigaglia.

Vitellozzo, who had learnt from the fate of his brother the danger of confiding in those to whom he had once given cause of offence, was extremely averse to this interview; but, being prevailed upon by Paolo Orsino, who had engaged more deeply in the interests of Borgia, he at length consented to wait his approach.

On the thirtieth of December, 1502, the day fixed upon for his departure from Fano, Cæsar communicated his project to eight of his principal adherents, in which number were Don Michele and Monsignor d'Euna, with instructions to this effect; that as soon as the meeting should take place betwixt himself and Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsino, the duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto, who

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would come out to meet and conduct him into the city, they should divide their number into pairs, and that each pair should single out his man, and take their stations respectively on each side of him, occupying his attention till they reached Sinigaglia, when they were not to quit them, till they had delivered them into safe custody at the apartments prepared for the duke. At the same time he ordered his whole force, which consisted of ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to take their station at day-break on the banks of the Metauro, a river about five miles from Fano, where they should wait his further orders. All things being thus arranged, Borgia advanced with the whole force towards Sinigaglia, where Vitellozzo Vitelli, Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, mounted upon mules, and accompanied by a few horse, came forwards to meet him. Vitellozzo was unarmed, and appeared so deeply dejected, as to excite the surprise of those who were acquainted with his courage and past achievements. We are also told, that when he left his dependants to come to Sinigaglia for the purpose of meeting the duke, he took a kind of last farewell of them; recommending to his chief officers the fortunes of his house, and admonishing his nephews not to remember the calamities of their family, but the courage of their ancestors. Arriving in the presence of Borgia, they respectfully saluted him, and were received by him with apparent kindness, whilst the persons to whom the charge of them had been confided, took the stations assigned to them. Borgia, perceiving that they were not accompanied by Oliverotto, who

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had remained with his troops at Sinigaglia, where he had drawn them up in the square, made a signal to Don Michele, to whom the care of Oliverotto had been committed, to take measures for preventing his escape. In consequence of which, that officer rode forwards, and coming up with Oliverotto, told him it was not a proper time to keep his men from their quarters, as they would, perhaps, be occupied by the soldiers of Borgia, and he therefore advised him to dismiss them, and to accompany him to meet the general. These directions having been complied with, Borgia arrived, and accosted Oliverotto, who approached and paid his respects to him. Proceeding thus to Sinigaglia, they dismounted at the lodgings of Borgia, and were led into a secret apartment, where the unsuspecting victims were all made prisoners.

Borgia immediately mounted his horse, and gave orders for disarming the troops of Oliverotto and the Orsini. Those of Oliverotto were all plundered; but those of the Orsini and Vitelli, being at a distance, and having received information of the ruin of their leaders, had time to collect themselves together, and in a firm body effected their escape, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies, and of the surrounding inhabitants. The soldiers of Borgia, not satisfied with the plunder of those of Oliverotto, began to sack the city; and, if he had not repressed their licentiousness, by putting many of them to death, they would have effected their purpose. Night approaching, and the tumult having subsided, he thought it expedient to despatch Vitellozzo and

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Oliverotto ; and, bringing them together into the same place, he caused them to be strangled. (a) On this occasion, neither of them, we are told, expressed themselves in a manner worthy of their past lives ; for Vitellozzo entreated that the pope might be applied to for a plenary indulgence of his sins, and Oliverotto, weeping, attributed all his offences against Borgia to the influence of Vitellozzo. Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, were suffered to live until Cæsar received information that the pope had secured the persons of the cardinal Orsino, the archbishop of Florence, and Jacopo di Santa Croce, after which, on the eighteenth day of January, they were put to death by Borgia, in the same manner as their unfortunate associates. (b)

(a) Ant. Franc. Raineri has commemorated the death of Vitellozzo in a copy of Latin verses, the substance of which he has compressed into the two following lines :

“ Non mare me, non Mars, sæva aut mors perdidit ; at me
Perdidit omnibus his Borgius asperior.”

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. viii. 59.

And the same event has also afforded a subject for reprobation to Paulo Giovio ; who justly denominates Borgia

“ ——— ravidus, barbarus, impotens,
Humani generis pernicies, atque hominum lues.”

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. v. 433.

(b) The cardinal Giambattista Orsino was detained by the pope in the Torre Borgia till the month of February following, when he died by poison, as it is supposed, administered to him by the direction of the pope ; who caused him to be carried to the grave uncovered, that it might appear he had died a natural death. *Muratori Annali*, x. 13. Besides the individuals of the family of Orsini, mentioned by Machiavelli, the pope also seized upon Carlo Orsino, and the Abate d'Alviano, brother of the celebrated general Bartolommeo d'Alviano ; but they were soon afterwards liberated. *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* p. 88.

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on their ter-
ritories.

Such is the account given of this extraordinary transaction by the Florentine secretary; a transaction upon which he has forbore to make the slightest observation, either of praise or of blame, and which he seems to have considered merely as an instance of superior talents and successful policy. (a) Having thus freed himself from all apprehensions from his doubtful allies, Cæsar lost no time in proceeding to Città di Castello, of which place he took possession; the remainder of the family of Vitelli having betaken themselves to flight. He then entered Perugia, which had been in like manner abandoned by Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who had, however, the good fortune to escape from the snare laid for him at Sinigaglia. Siena was the next place towards which he bent

(a) The presumption that Machiavelli had a principal part in the contrivance of this most iniquitous stratagem, is indeed extremely strong. The Florentines dreaded and abhorred both the Orsini and the Vitelli; the former as relations and adherents to the Medici, the latter for exerting themselves to avenge the unmerited fate of Paolo Vitelli, so cruelly put to death at Florence. Borgia had retreated to Imola, where Machiavelli found him in a state of great dejection, "pieno di paura." No sooner, however, did the Florentine envoy appear, than he took fresh courage, and the plan for the destruction of their adversaries seems to have been agreed on. It is certain, also, that Machiavelli accompanied Cæsar to Sinigaglia, and was present at the perpetration of the deed; after which Borgia remarked to him, that "he knew the government of Florence would be gratified by this transaction." *v. Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 85.* The Florentine writers acknowledge, that the intelligence of it gave great satisfaction in the city: "Restò allora la città, morti costoro, molto sicura da quelli suoi nemici, che tanto e si spesso la travagliavano." *Nerli, Commentar. lib. v. p. 94.* The Florentines also sent Jacopo Salviati as their ambassador, to congratulate Cæsar on the success of his treachery: *Razzi, Vita di Pietro Soderini, p. 7. Padua, 1737.*

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his course ; but whilst he was hovering round the city, and had already compelled Pandolfo Petrucci, who then enjoyed the chief authority, to quit the place, he received intelligence from the pope, that the duke of Bracciano, with others of the Orsini family, as well as the nobles of the Savelli, had again taken up arms. He was therefore obliged to quit Siena ; and, hastening into the papal territories, again reduced them to obedience. This was the period of the highest power of Cæsar Borgia. In full possession of the extensive territory of Romagna, he regarded with eager avidity the domains of Pisa and of Siena ; nor were the citizens of Florence without constant apprehensions from his increasing power ; whilst the pope, equally earnest in the aggrandizement of his son, had proposed to the college of cardinals to bestow upon him the title of king of Romagna and Umbria.

Death of
Alexander
VI.

But whilst every circumstance thus seemed to conspire in his favour, an unexpected reverse of fortune suddenly overturned the fabric of his greatness. This was the death of Alexander VI. which happened on the eighteenth day of August, 1503. And this misfortune was increased by the effects of a dangerous malady, under which Cæsar himself at the same time laboured, and which prevented him from taking those measures for securing his authority, which he might otherwise have adopted. The historians of this period, eager to represent both Alexander and his son in the most odious colours, have asserted, that the death of the one, and the disorder of the other, were occasioned by poison, prepared by them for the de-

struction of several cardinals, of whose wealth they intended to possess themselves; but which, by the error of an attendant, was incautiously administered to themselves. That the horrid and detestable practice of destroying persons by poison, was frequently resorted to in these profligate times, is certain; and that Alexander and his son had employed these measures for the gratification of their avarice, their ambition, or their revenge, is positively asserted by many historians; but it by no means accords with the acknowledged ability, caution, and penetration of these men, that they would risk their lives upon the negligence or fidelity of a servant, or place it in the power of accident to render them the victims of their own crime. If, therefore, the death of Alexander is to be attributed to poison, it was most probably administered to him by some of those numerous enemies whom his rapacity and violence had incited to this deed of revenge; but documents recently produced, and a more dispassionate inquiry, afford sufficient reason to conclude, that the death of the pontiff was not occasioned by poison, but was the effect of a fever, which in a few days hurried him to the grave. (*a*)

(*a*) Burchard informs us, that the pope was attacked by a fever on the twelfth day of August, 1503; that on the sixteenth he was bled, and the disorder seemed to become tertian. On the seventeenth he took medicine; but on the eighteenth he became so ill that his life was despaired of. He then received the viaticum, during mass, which was celebrated in his chamber, and at which five cardinals assisted. In the evening extreme unction was administered to him, and in a few minutes afterwards he died. *Burchard. Diar. ap. Notices de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. i. p. 118. Muratori has produced many authorities to shew, that the death of

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his conduct
and charac-
ter.

Were we to place implicit confidence in the Italian historians, no period of society has exhibited a character of darker deformity than that of Alexander VI. Inordinate in his ambition, insatiable in his avarice and his lust, inexorable in his cruelty, and boundless in his rapacity; almost every crime that can disgrace humanity is attributed to him without hesitation, by writers whose works are published under the sanction of the Roman church. He is also accused of having introduced into his territories the detestable practice of searching for state offences by means of secret informers; a sys-

Alexander was not occasioned by poison; among which, that of Beltrando Costabile, then ambassador of the duke of Ferrara at Rome, seems the most decisive. "The court of Ferrara," adds Muratori, "which was then the residence of the daughter of Alexander, may be presumed to have been well informed of the cause of his death."

That it was, however, the general opinion at the time of his death that Alexander perished by poison, appears from numerous contemporary authorities. Thus Guido Postumo, in *Tumulum Sciti*:

"Quis situs hic? *Sextus*. Quis pectora plangit? *Erynnis*.

Quis comes in tanto funere obit? *Vitium*.

Unde pyra? *Ex crucibus*, quibus Itala pectora torsit.

Quæ laniata genas præfica? *Avaricies*.

Quis tulit ossa? *Nefas*. Quis longo murmure dixit,

Nate, vale? Mater *Rixa*, paterque *Odium*.

Qui pressere oculos? *Incendia*, *Stupra*, *Rapinae*.

Quis moriar dixit, hoc moriente? *Dolus*.

Sed quæ causa necis? *Virus*. Proh numina! virus

Humano generi vita, salusque fuit."

Guid. Post. Eleg. p. 36.

Mr. Henke has also adduced several authorities to shew that Alexander died by poison, and in particular has given a letter from Peter Martyr, dated Segov. 4 id. Nov. 1508, (about three months after the death of the pontiff) relating to this event. *v. Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 385.*

tem fatal to the liberty and happiness of every country that has submitted to such a degradation. As a pontiff he perverted his high office by making his spiritual power on every occasion subservient to his temporal interests ; and he might have adopted as his emblem, that of the ancient Jupiter, which exhibits the lightning in the grasp of a ferocious eagle. (a) His vices as an individual, although not so injurious to the world, are represented as yet more disgusting ; and the records of his court afford repeated instances of a depravity of morals, inexcusable in any station, but abominable in one of his high rank and sacred office. Yet with all these lamentable defects, justice requires that two particulars in his favour should be noticed. In the first place, whatever have been his crimes, there can be no doubt but they have been highly overcharged. That he was devoted to the aggrandizement of his family, and that he em-

(a) To this period, when truth became a crime, we may refer the origin of the Roman pasquinades ; of which the following lines afford one of the earliest instances.

“ Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.

Emerat ille prius ; vendere jure potest.

De vitio in vitium, de flamma transit in ignem ;

Roma sub Hispano deperit imperio.

Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste ;

Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.”

Machiavelli, although more favourable to the family of Borgia than most other writers, accuses him of lust, simony, and cruelty :

“ ——— per aver riposo,

Portato fu fra l'anime beate

Lo spirto di Alessandro glorioso.

Del qual seguiron le sante pedate

Tre sue familiari e care ancille,

Lussuria, Simonia, e crudeltate.”

Decennale, i. p. 68.

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ployed the authority of his elevated station to establish a permanent dominion in Italy in the person of his son, cannot be doubted; but when almost all the sovereigns of Europe were attempting to gratify their ambition by means equally criminal, it seems unjust to brand the character of Alexander with any peculiar and extraordinary share of infamy in this respect. Whilst Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain conspired together to seize upon and divide the kingdom of Naples, by an example of treachery that never can be sufficiently execrated, Alexander might surely think himself justified in suppressing the turbulent barons, who had for ages rent the dominions of the church with intestine wars, and in subjugating the petty sovereigns of Romagna, over whom he had an acknowledged supremacy, and who had in general acquired their dominions by means as unjustifiable as those which he adopted against them.^(a) With respect to the accusation so generally believed, of a criminal intercourse between him and his own daughter, which has caused him to be regarded with a peculiar degree of horror and disgust, it might not be difficult to shew its improba-

(a) Oliverotto da Fermo had obtained the chief authority in the city, from which he derived his name, by the treacherous murder of his uncle, and several of the principal inhabitants, whom he had invited to an entertainment. This atrocious deed was perpetrated on the same day in the preceding year, on which he afterwards fell into the snare of Cæsar Borgia. The other persons put to death by Borgia, had also supported themselves by rapine, and were the terror of all Italy. The contests of this period may in fact be regarded by posterity as a combat of wild beasts, in which the strongest and most ferocious animal destroys the rest. *v. Mach. lib. del Principe*, cap. viii. pp. 21, 22.

bility, and to invalidate an imputation which disgraces human nature itself.

In the second place it may justly be observed, that the vices of Alexander were accompanied, although not compensated, by many great qualities, which in the consideration of his character ought not to be passed over in silence. (a) Nor, if this were not the fact, would it be possible to account for the peculiar good fortune which attended him to the latest period of his life, or for the singular circumstance recorded of him, that during his whole pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered his authority, or disturbed his repose. (b) Even by his severest adversaries he is allowed to have been a man of an elevated genius, of a wonderful memory, eloquent, vigilant, and dexterous in the management of all his concerns. The proper supply of the city of Rome with all the necessaries of life was an object of his unceasing attention; and during his pontificate his dominions were exempt from that famine which devastated the rest of Italy. In his diet he was peculiarly temperate; and he accustomed himself to but little sleep. In those hours which he devoted to amusement, he seemed wholly to forget the affairs of state; but he never suffered those amusements to diminish the vigour of his

(a) "—— in Alexandro, ut de Annibale Livius scribit, æquabant vitia virtutes. Inerant namque ingenium ratio, cognitio, memoria, diligentia, eloquentia vero quædam naturalis, et ad persuadendum apta, ut nemo rem cautius proponeret aut acrius defensitaret," &c. *Raph. Volater. Anthropol.* lib. xxii. p. 683. "Fu magnanimo, et generoso, et prudente, se non che si lasciò vincere dall' amore di figliuoli che haveva, et da troppo cupidità." *Monaldeschi. Comm. Istor.* p. 148.

(b) *Raph. Volater. Anthropol.* lib. xxii. p. 682.

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faculties, which remained unimpaired to the last. Though not much devoted to the study of literature, Alexander was munificent towards its professors ; to whom he not only granted liberal salaries, but, with a punctuality very uncommon among the princes of that period, he took care that those salaries were duly paid. (a) That he at some times attended the representations of the comedies of Plautus has been placed in the black catalogue of his defects ; (b) but if his mind had been more humanized by the cultivation of polite letters, he might, instead of being degraded almost below humanity, have stood high in the scale of positive excellence. To the encouragement of the arts he paid a more particular attention. The palace of the Vatican was enlarged by him, and many of the apartments were ornamented with the works of the most eminent painters of the time ; among whom may be particularized Torrigiano, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Bernardino Pinturicchio. As an architect, his chief favourites were Giuliano and Antonio da San-Gallo ; nor does his choice in this respect detract from his judgment. By their assistance the mole of Hadrian, now called the castle of S. Angelo, was fortified in the manner in which it

(a) The cardinal Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pontiff, was also an encourager of literature, and condescended to receive instructions from Mariano Probo, of Sulmona, who distinguished himself as a Latin poet, and died at Rome in the year 1499. His *Parthenias*, or Life of the Virgin, in six books, was printed at Naples in 1524. The preface to this rare volume by Nic. Scævola, contains some curious particulars of the state of learning at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI.

(b) " Quapropter Comœdias Plautinas ceteraque ludicra, libenter spectavit." *Raph. Volater. lib. xxii. p. 685.*

yet remains. In one circumstance his encouragement of the arts is connected with a singular instance of profaneness, which it is surprising has not hitherto been enumerated among his many offences. In a picture painted for him by Pinturicchio, the beautiful Julia Farnese is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture, as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of his adoration. (*a*)

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(*a*) Mr. Henke has entered into copious details respecting this Julia Farnese, or Julia Bella, as she was called ; who was the sister of Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III. and was married to one of the Orsini family. (*v. Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 242.*)

I might also lay before the reader the judicious observations of Count Bossi on the character of Alexander VI. ; but as they tend to confirm rather than to contradict the view which I have taken of it, I shall only refer to them in the second volume of *Ital. ed. p. 194.*

DISSERTATION
ON
THE CHARACTER
OF
LUCRETIA BORGIA.

DISSERTATION
ON
THE CHARACTER
OF
LUCRETIA BORGIA.

DISSERTATION
ON
THE CHARACTER
OF
LUCRETIA BORGIA.

DISSERTATION,

&c.

IF the Lucretia of ancient history has been considered as the glory of her sex, the Lucretia of modern Rome has been alleged as an example of its disgrace and its shame. From her own times to the present, her depravity is on historical record; yet many circumstances concur to raise considerable doubts in the mind of an impartial inquirer, whether the horrible accusations under which her memory labours be well founded. Amidst the licentiousness that characterized the age in which she lived, the most flagrant charges acquire a probability which they could not in another period obtain; and among the vices of the times, calumny and falsehood have in general been at least as active as the rest.

To the present day Lucretia is, for the most part, only known as the incestuous daughter of Alexander VI., the prostitute, in common, of her father, and of her two brothers; one of whom is supposed to have assassinated the other from jealousy of his superior pretensions to her favour. If nothing more had been recorded respecting her than the charges of her accusers, we must have submitted to receive their information as true; with those doubts only which the abominable nature of the accusation must always inspire. But Lucretia Borgia is known, from other sources of information, to have been a woman of great accomplishments, as well of mind as of person, and to have passed the chief part of her life in an eminent station, not only

without reproach, but with the highest honour and esteem. If the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots, how are we to conceive it possible, that the person who had, during so many years of her life, been sunk into the lowest depths of guilt and of infamy, could at once emerge to respectability and to virtue? The history of mankind furnishes no instances of such a rapid change; and we are therefore naturally led to inquire upon what evidences such charges have been made; and as from their nature it can scarcely be supposed that they are capable either of positive proof, or of positive refutation, we must be satisfied to form our belief according to the best evidence of probability.

That accusations of this nature were brought against Lucretia early in life, and during the pontificate of her father, there is great reason to believe. The first traces of them appear in the writings of the Neapolitan poets, who being exasperated against Alexander VI. for the active part which he had taken in the expulsion of the house of Aragon, placed no limits to their resentment. (a) These imputations might, however, scarcely have deserved a serious reply, had they not received additional credit from the pen of the distinguished historian Guicciardini, who informs us, that “it was rumoured, that not only the two brothers, but even the father, were rivals for the love of Lucretia.” (b) By these rumours it is probable that he alludes to the writings of the

(a) Thus Pontano, in an epitaph for Lucretia Borgia, who, however, survived him upwards of twenty years :

“ Hic jacet in tumulo, Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais. Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.”

And Sanazzaro thus addresses her :

“ Ergo te semper cupiet, Lucretia, Sextus.
O fatum diri numinis, hic Pater est.”

And this supposed intercourse is also frequently alluded to, in other parts of the works of the last mentioned writer.

(b) “ Era medesimamente fama, se però è degno di credersi tanta enormità, che nell’ amor di Madonna Lueretia, concorressino non solamente i dui fratelli ma eziandio il padre medesimo.” *Guicc. Storia d’ Ital.* lib. iii. 1, 182.

Neapolitan poets, with whose works, it is to be remarked, he was well acquainted, as appears from the manner in which he refers to the small river Sebeto, near Naples, so frequently the theme of their applause. (a)

These authorities have been considered as sufficient grounds for future historians to assert the guilt of Lucretia in the most explicit terms; nor have even the writers of the Romish church hesitated to express their conviction of her criminality in the most unqualified manner, and the tale of her infamy has accordingly been admitted into general compilations and biographical dictionaries as undoubted matter of fact. (b) It can, therefore, occasion no surprise, that the protestant authors have frequently expatiated on a subject which, as they suppose, reflects such disgrace on the Roman see. In the writings of Henry Stephens, (c) of Bale, (d) and of Gordon, (e) this accusation forms a conspicuous feature; nor is it less decisively admitted by the discriminating Gibbon, in his *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*. (f) “In the next generation,” says this author, “the House of Este was sullied by a sanguinary and incestuous race; by the nuptials of Alfonso I. with Lucretia, a bastard of Alexander VI. the Tiberius of christian Rome. This modern Lucretia might have assumed with more propriety the name of Messalina; since the woman who can be guilty, who can even be accused, of a criminal intercourse with a father and two brothers, must be abandoned to all the licentiousness of venal love.”

Such being the evidence on which these charges have been generally believed, it may now be proper to state such circumstances as may throw additional light on the subject.

(a) “Il piccolo più presto rio che fiumicello, chiamato *Sebeto*; incognito a ciascuno se non gli havessino dato nome i versi de’ poeti Napolitani.” *Guicc. Storia d’Ital.* lib. iii. p. 113.

(b) v. *Moreri, Dict. Hist. Art. Cæsar Borgia, &c.*

(c) *Apologie pour Herodote*, liv. 1. p. 559, ed. 1692.

(d) *Pagcant of Popes*, p. 173, ed. 1574.

(e) *Life of Alex. VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia*, p. 271, &c.

(f) *In the second vol. of his Posthumous Works*, p. 689.

This will perhaps be most effectually done, by taking a brief review of the principal circumstances in the life of Lucretia, as far as they can be collected from the writings of her contemporaries ; and by comparing her conduct and character, as it is represented by those to whom she was well known, and by whom she was highly respected, with her conduct and character as represented by those who have, either directly or indirectly, countenanced imputations against her of so detestable a nature.

Before the elevation of Alexander VI. his daughter Lucretia, not being then of marriageable age, had been betrothed to a Spanish gentleman; (a) but on his obtaining the pontificate, he dissolved the engagement, apparently with the ambitious view of forming a higher connexion. On the twelfth day of June, 1493, being in the first year of her father's pontificate, she was accordingly married to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, a grandson of the brother of the great Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan. (b) With him she resided till the year 1497, when some dissensions having arisen between her and her husband, she quitted him, and the pope afterwards dissolved the marriage ; " not being able," as Guicciardini asserts, " to bear even a husband as a rival, and having proved, by suborned evidence, before judges delegated by himself, that Giovanni was impotent." (c) This separation gave rise to a disagreement between the pope and Sforza, in consequence of which, the latter was in danger of being deprived of his dominions, which he preserved only by resorting to the Venetians for assistance. (d)

If the reason given by Guicciardini for the interference of the pope on this occasion, be the true one, he soon changed his mind, having shortly after entered into a treaty

(a) *Nardi Hist. Fior.* lib. iv. p. 75.

(b) " Le nozze con gran solennità ma con poco onestà, furono celebrate nel pontificio palazzo nel dì 12 di Giugno, 1493." *Murat. Annal. d' Italia*, ix. 569.

(c) *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia*, lib. iii. vol. i. p. 182.

(d) *Murat. Annali*, vol. ix. p. 590.

for a marriage between his daughter and Alfonso, duke of Bisaglia, and natural son of Alfonso II. king of Naples. (a) This marriage was celebrated in the year 1498, and the pope conferred on his daughter the perpetual government of the duchy of Spoleto, and invested her with the territory of Sermoneta, of which he had shortly before deprived the family of Gaetani. (b) The offspring of this marriage was a son, who was born in the month of October, 1499, and named after the pontiff, Roderigo. (c) The attention paid by Alexander to the education of this child, has been considered as a presumptive proof, that he stood related to him in a still nearer character than that which he avowed; (d) but when it is recollected, that this son was the future hope of an ambitious and aspiring family, and, detached from all criminality, was allied to the pontiff by the near claims of consanguinity, there seems no need to resort to other motives to explain the conduct of Alexander on this occasion. From the explicit evidence of Burchard, who appears to have intruded himself into the most secret transactions of the apostolic palace, we may exonerate the pontiff and his daughter from this heinous charge, and allow that there are good grounds to admit that Alfonso of Aragon was the father of the child. (e)

(a) "His diebus venit ad Urbem Illustrissimus Dominus Alphonsus de Aragonia, Dux Bisiliarum, Princeps Salernitanus, filius naturalis divæ memoriæ Alfonsi secundi de Aragonia regis Neapolitani, septemdecim annos natus vel circa, futurus maritus Lucretiæ Borgiæ, filiæ carissimæ S. D. N. uxoris olim Johannis Sforziæ Domini Pisauri: qui non fuit receptus vel associatus publica pompa, sed tamen a quibusdam particularibus, per papam sibi obviam missis." *Burchard, Diar. ap. Gordon.*

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, ix. 601.

(c) "Feria quinta, ultima Octobris circa horam nonam, Domina Lucretia Papæ filia, peperit filium masculum, quod, ut dictum fuit, de mandato Papæ omnibus cardinalibus et oratoribus et aliis amicis ad eorum domos ante diem est nuntiatum; fuerunt propterea nuntiantibus donati per singulos cardinales et oratores ducati duo, ac plus vel minus prout placuit donanti." *Burch. Diar. ap. Gordon.*

(d) *Gordon's Life of Alexander VI.* p. 271.

(e) "Contraxit deinde post paucos dies matrimonium per verba de presenti

The unfortunate husband did not long survive this event. In the month of June, 1500, he was attacked on the steps, before the great door of the church of S. Pietro, by a band of assassins, by whom he was dangerously wounded. That the perpetrators of this crime were persons of rank, may be conjectured from their having been escorted out of the gates of Rome by a body of forty horsemen, who protected them in their flight. (a) Alfonso, yet living, was conveyed into a chamber in the apostolic palace, where he struggled with the consequences of his wounds upwards of two months, and, as Burchard asserts, was then strangled in his bed. The physicians who had attended him, and a person who had waited on him during his confinement, were apprehended and examined, but were soon afterwards liberated. (b) The death of Alfonso, like that of the duke of Gandia, has been attributed to Cæsar Borgia, but with no other evidence than that which arises from presumptions, founded on the general atrocity of his character, and the supposed criminal attachment to his sister; to which it has been added, that the new connexions which he had formed with Lewis XII. operated as an inducement with him

cum ipsa Lucretia; illudque carnali copulatione consummavit." *Diar. Burch. ap. Gordon.*

(a) "Feria quindecima mensis Junii circa horam primam noctis, Illustrissimus Dominus Alphonsus de Arragonia, Dux Bisiliarum, Maritus Domine Lucretie Filie papæ, supra planum scararum Basilicæ Sancti Petri ante primum introitum versus Basilicam prædictam, per plures personas aggressus fuit, et in capite et brachio dextro et crure graviter vulneratus. Invasores effugerunt per scalam Sancti Petri ubi circiter quadraginta Equites eos expectarunt, cum quibus equitarunt extra portam pertusam." *Diar. Burch. ap. Gordon.*

(b) "Feria tertia, octava decima Mensis Augusti, Alphonsus de Arragonia Dux Bisiliarum et princeps Salernitanus, qui in sero diei quindecimi Mensis Julii proxime præteriti, graviter fuit vulneratus, et deinde ad Turrim nonam supra cartinam Papæ in Horto majori palatii apud Sanctum Petrum portatus est, et diligenter custoditus, *cum non vellet hujusmodi vulneribus mori, in lecto suo fuit strangulatus.* Circa horam primam noctis portatum fuit cadaver ad Basilicam S. Petri et ibidem in Capella Beatæ Mariæ de Febribus depositum. Capti fuerunt et ad Castrum S. Angeli ducti Medici defuncti et quidam gibbosus, qui ejus curam habere consueverat et contra eos inquisitio facta: liberati postea fuerunt." *Burch. Diar. ap. Gordon.*

to terminate his alliance with a family which he had already devoted to destruction. (a)

A few days after the death of Alfonso, his widow, who has never been accused of having had any share in this horrid transaction, retired for some time to Nepi, for the purpose of indulging her grief. (b) On her return to Rome, she was intrusted, during the absence of the pope, with the management of public affairs, for which purpose she was empowered to open all letters addressed to the pontiff, and directed, in cases of difficulty, to consult with some of the cardinals in the confidence of the pope. We may agree with Muratori, that this mode of government conferred but little honour on the pontiff, (c) but we can scarcely admit it as a proof, as some have been willing to assume, of an incestuous intercourse between the father and the daughter. (d) To a short time subsequent to this period, we may, however, refer those abominable scenes of lewdness, which are said to have been transacted within the precincts of the apostolic palace, and which, however incredible, are recorded by Burchard, not only without a comment, but with as much indifference as if they were only the usual occurrences of the day. (e) But it is highly important to our pre-

(a) Guicciardini expressly asserts, that the husband of Lucretia, whom he calls Gismondo, was assassinated by Cæsar Borgia, “il quale era stato ammazzato dal Duca Valentino;” and Muratori informs us, that Alfonso was first wounded, and afterwards poisoned, and that Cæsar Borgia was supposed to be the perpetrator of the crime; to which he was instigated by his attachment to the French, and his aversion to the family of Aragon. *v. Annali d’Italia*, vol. ix. p. 606.

(b) “Feria secunda, ultima Augusti Domina Lucretia olim de Aragonia Filia Papæ recessit ab urbe, itura ad civitatem Nepesinam, associata a sexcentessimis equitibus vel circa, ut caperet aliquam consolationem propter dolorem et conturbationem quam habuit diebus præteritis propter obitum illustrissimi domini Alfonsi de Aragonia Ducis Bisiliarum, &c. mariti sui.” *Burch. Diar. ap. Gordon.*

(c) “Questa maniera di Governo, se facesse onore al Papa, poco ci vuole per conoscerlo.” *Murat. Annal. x. 7.*

(d) *Gordon’s Life of Alexander VI.* p. 173, &c.

(e) “Dominica ultima mensis Octobris in sero fecerunt cœnam cum Duce Valentinensi in camera sua in Palatio Apostolico, quinquaginta meretrices honestæ, Cortegianæ nuncupatæ, quæ post cœnam chorearunt, cum servitoribus et

sent subject to observe, that throughout the whole narrative of this loquacious master of the papal ceremonies, who seems on no occasion to have concealed what might disgrace either his superiors or himself, there appears not the most distant insinuation of that criminal intimacy between Alexander and his daughter, or between her and her brothers, which if he had known or suspected it to have existed, it is not likely, from the tenor of other parts of his narrative, that he would have been inclined wholly to conceal.

However this may be, the pope, who never for a moment lost sight of the aggrandizement of his family, in the latter part of the year 1501, entered into a negotiation for uniting Lucretia in marriage to Alfonso of Este, the son of Ercole, duke of Ferrara. This connexion was highly flattering to the house of Borgia, as well from the elevated rank of the husband, who was expected shortly to take a respectable station among the sovereigns of Italy, as from his personal character, which had already given rise to expectations, that his future conduct abundantly confirmed. (*a*) In accounting for an union which has in later times been considered as degrading to the family of Este, some have been inclined to attribute it to the advantageous proposals made by the pope, who besides an immense sum which he expended in jewels and apparel, gave to his daughter on her marriage one hundred thousand gold crowns, and accompanied them with the grant of the territories of Cento and Pieve; whilst others have conjectured, that the princes of Este were rather

aliis ibidem existentibus, primo in vestibus suis, deinde nudæ. Post coenam posita fuerunt candelabra communia mensæ cum candelis ardentibus, et projectæ ante candelabra per terram castaneæ, quas meretrices ipsæ, super manibus et pedibus nudæ, candelabra pertranseuntes colligebant; Pāpa, Duce, et Lucretia sorore sua, præsentibus et aspicientibus. Tandem exposita dona ultima, diploides de serico, paria caligarum, bireta et alia, pro illis qui plures dictas meretrices carnaliter agnoscerunt, quæ fuerunt ibidem in aula publice carnaliter tractatæ, arbitrio præsentium, et dona distributa victoribus." *Burch. Diar. ap. Gord.*

(*a*) "Principe glorioso nel mondo," says Muratori, "che in senno e valore ebbe pochi pari al suo tempo." *Annali*, vol. x. p. 262.

terrified than allured to such a measure, by their apprehensions from the ambition, rapacity, or resentment of the family of Borgia. (a) The marriage ceremony was performed at Rome on the nineteenth day of December, 1501, with circumstances of uncommon magnificence, which are related by Burchard with great minuteness. (b) Her journey thence to Ferrara, and her splendid entry into that city, on the second day of February, 1502, are dwelt upon at great length by contemporary writers, whose narratives exhibit a curious picture of the manners of the age. (c)

At this period of the life of Lucretia, when she was finally removed from the Roman court to the city of Ferrara, which became her residence during the remainder of

(a) *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* p. 75.

“The marriage articles were signed,” says Mr. Gibbon (*Antiq. of Brunswick, in posth. works*, vol. ii. p. 689.) “and as the bed of Lucretia was not then vacant, her third husband, a royal bastard of Naples, was first stabbed, and afterwards strangled in the Vatican.” This is not founded on historical fact, nor as far as I know, asserted by any other writer; the treaty for the marriage with Alfonso of Este, not having taken place till upwards of twelve months after the death of her former husband.

(b) “Feria quarta, nona Decembris, tibicines et omnia musicorum instrumenta, parata in plano, super scalas S. Petri, inceperunt magna vehementia sonare, singuli instrumenta sua, prope domum Dominæ Lucretiæ, juxta Basilicam S. Petri. Exivit ipsa Domina Lucretia, in vestibus brocati auri, circumdatis, more hispanico, cum longa cauda, quam quædam puellæ deferebant; ipsa Domina Lucretia media inter Ferdinandum a dextris, et Sigismundum a sinistris, fratres mariti sui. Sequebantur circiter quinquaginta Romanæ pulchre vestitæ, et post illas Pedissequæ Dominæ Lucretiæ, et ascenderunt ad primam aulam Paulinam, super portam Palatii ubi erat Papa, cum tredecim Cardinalibus et Duce Valentiniensi; finito sermone, fuit posita ante Papam quædam mensa sive tabula ad quam accederunt Ferdinandus Frater et Procurator Sponsi, et Domina Lucretia, cui ipse Ferdinandus procuratorio nomine Fratris sui, imposuit quemdam annulum aureum, sive gemmam. Apportati deinde fuerunt per Cardinalem Estensem etiam Fratrem Sponsi quatuor alii annuli magni valoris, et apportata una capsa super dictam mensam posita, et de mandato prædicti Cardinalis aperti, qui extraxit ex ea multa collaria, sive torques, pulcherrimis lapidibus pretiosis et margaritis ornatos. Item quatuor pulcherrimæ bruces, &c. oblata Sponsæ per Cardinalem Estensem, verbis ornatissimis. His factis retraxit se Papa ad sequentem aulam sive cameram Paulinam quem secuta est Domina Lucretia cum mulieribus,” &c.

(c) *v. Descrizione della nozza di Lucretia figliuola di Alessandro VI. ed Alfonso d' Este, inter Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scrip.* vol. xxvii. p. 398.

her life, some reflections occur on her past conduct. That the daughter of Alexander VI. young, beautiful, and accomplished, educated in the midst of a luxurious city and a profligate court, might, on all occasions, have escaped the general contagion, will not perhaps be readily believed; but with respect to the incestuous intercourse, of which she has been so generally accused, the circumstances of her life and conduct afford no evidence; on the contrary, the anxiety of her father, to avail himself of the first opportunity of uniting her to another husband, must be considered as a strong indication, that his own attachment to her was not of the criminal nature before referred to. Were it also to be granted, that the family of Este was induced to accede to this marriage by the allurements and persuasions, or was terrified into it by the dread of the vengeance of the pontiff, it must still require a considerable portion of credulity to believe, that either Ercole, duke of Ferrara, or Alfonso his son, who were distinguished by their virtues and their talents, both civil and military, beyond any of the sovereigns of the time, would have submitted to have perpetuated their race through the contaminated blood of a known and incestuous prostitute.

The arrival of Lucretia at Ferrara gave a new impulse to those studies and literary amusements, by which that place had been so long distinguished. Among the many men conspicuous by their talents and their learning, who at this time frequented the court, was the celebrated Pietro Bembo. He had accompanied his father, who had visited that city in a respectable public character, and the attractions which he had met with in the literary society of the place, had induced him to prolong his residence there. The reputation which Bembo had already obtained by his writings, and perhaps his personal address and accomplishments, early introduced him to the notice of the duchess, who received him with that freedom and affability for which the Italian courts were then remarkable. At this time

Bembo was about thirty years of age, and it appears from his letters, that he had twice been the slave of an amorous but unsuccessful passion. The extraordinary beauty, the various endowments, the vivacity and condescension of the duchess, were attractions too powerful for him to resist, and there is reason to believe, that Lucretia Borgia was destined to complete that amorous servitude of three lustres, or fifteen years, of which he frequently complains. The epistolary correspondence of Bembo contains several letters addressed to the duchess of Ferrara, to which she frequently replied. (a) But although it might be presumed from her letters, that she was not wholly insensible to the passion of her admirer, by whose attentions it is probable she was highly flattered, yet it must be observed, that Mazzuchelli, one of the most judicious critics that Italy has produced, considers this attachment as having been regulated by sentiments of propriety and honour; (b) nor is it indeed likely, that a friendly epistolary intercourse would have been continued for so long a time after the termination of a connexion, which could never have been recollected by either of the parties without sentiments of compunction and of shame. In the letters of Bembo to the duchess of Fer-

(a) In the Ambrosian library, at Milan, a manuscript is said to exist, which contains nine letters, in the hand-writing of Lucretia, seven of which are in Italian, and two in Spanish; and at the close, a copy of verses, also in Spanish, all of which are addressed to Bembo. These letters appear to have been folded in the form of billets, and are superscribed, *Al mio carissimo M. Pietro Bembo*. The writer denominates herself *Lucretia Estense da Borgia*, and the seals of the arms of Este and Borgia are appended to them. At the close of the volume is a canzone in Spanish, of the composition and hand-writing of Bembo, and in a folding of white vellum, tied with four ribbands, is a lock of light-coloured hair, such as Bembo has frequently described in his poems, and which by constant tradition has been believed to be that of Lucretia Borgia. From the description of this singular relick, it decidedly appears, that this book formerly belonged to Bembo, who has minuted with his own hand the dates of the letters, and had probably inserted them in this volume, as a memorial of what he considered as the most elevated and honourable attachment of his early years. *Dissertazione del Dott. Baldassare Oltrocchi sopra i primi amori di Pietro Bembo. Racolta d'opuscoli di Calogerà*, vol. iv. p. 1.

(b) *Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in Art. Lucretia Borgia.*

rara, which extend from the year 1503, to the year 1516, he at some times communicates to her his own sorrows, and at others congratulates her on the birth of her children; but the warmth of the lover, if it ever existed, soon gave place to the respect of a friend, and the introduction of frequent apologies for his neglect, or omissions, clearly indicates that he had long relinquished that character, which on their first acquaintance, he appears to have been willing to assume.

The attachment of Bembo to Lucretia Borgia was not, however, so cautiously concealed, as to have escaped the notice of his friends, the two Strozzi, with whom he lived at Ferrara on terms of the utmost intimacy, and at whose villa, in the vicinity of that city, he passed a considerable portion of his time. Tito, the father, has recorded this passion in an enigmatical epigram, which it is not now difficult to explain, (a) and Ercole, the son, in confiding to Bembo his own amours, adjures him to conceal them with the same secrecy with which he has himself preserved those intrusted to him by the confidence of his friend. (b)

From this period, the conduct of Lucretia Borgia, during the remainder of her life, being an interval of upwards of twenty years, was not only without reproach, but in the highest degree commendable and exemplary. Amidst the disturbances which agitated Italy, and which frequently

(a) “ Si mutetur in X. C. tertia nominis hujus
 Litera, *Lux* fiet, quod modo *Luc* fuerat
Retia subsequitur, cui tu *hæc* subjunge, *paratque*;
 Sic scribens, *Lux hæc retia*, Bembe, *parat*.”

(b) “ At tu, Bembe, meos quem non celare calores
 Debueram, tanti semina disce mali.
 Fas uni tibi nosse, decem quæ me usserit annos,
 Quæque meo jussit corde latere faces.
 Hanc tamen obtestor, ne te sciat indice quisquam;
 Graia tibi servet sic *Telesilla* fidem.
 Sic mihi, quæ dixi, cunctos celentur in annos;
 Nullaque non felix sic eat hora tibi.”

Strozz. fil. Amor. p. 72.

threatened Ferrara with destruction, she was intrusted by the duke, during those warlike expeditions in which he so eminently distinguished himself, with the government of the state; in which she conducted herself so as to obtain, not only the approbation of her husband, but the respect and affection of his subjects. By Alfonso she was the mother of three sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the government of the state of Ferrara, by the name of Ercole II. (a) Towards the close of her life, she became severely rigid in her religious duties, and devoted herself to works of benevolence and piety. From the official letters of Leo X. it appears, that she had applied to that pontiff, soon after his elevation, for his spiritual advice and consolation, which he conceded to her in the fullest terms, with high commendations of her exemplary life. (b) It is true, that long after she had established a character beyond all just reproach, and when her father was no more, and her brother was driven from Italy, the voice of calumny did not fail to pursue her amidst the splendour of a court; and in the vindictive lines of Sanazzaro, Lucretia is the heifer that wanders disconsolate on the banks of the Po, lamenting the loss of her mate. (c) But the motives of these accusations have already been explained, and even if Sanazzaro had been more impartial, the

(a) "Alfonso I." says Mr. Gibbon, "*believed himself to be the father of three sons. The eldest, his successor, Hercules II. expiated this maternal stain by a nobler choice, and his fidelity was rewarded by mingling the blood of Este with that of France.*" *Antiq. of the House of Brunswick, in post. works*, vol. ii. p. 689. The doubt which Mr. Gibbon has implied respecting the legitimacy of the eldest son, involves the historian in some degree of inconsistency. For, if Hercules was not *in fact* the offspring of Alfonso, how can he be said to have mingled the blood of *Este* with that of *France*?

(b) *v. Bembi Ep. nom. Leon. X. lib. iv. ep. 3.*

(c) "Juvenca, solos quæ relictæ ad aggeres
Padi sonantis, heu malum sororibus
Omen, dolentes inter orba populos
Te te requirit, te reflagitans suum
Implet querelis nemus; et usque mugiens
Modo huc, modo illuc furit, amore perdita."

Sannaz. lib. i. Epigr. 15.

distance of his residence from Rome would prevent his being considered on such an occasion as an authentic evidence.

But although the charges against Lucretia Borgia appear to be wholly unsupported, either by proof or probability, it would be unjust to her talents and her character, to close the present inquiry without adducing some of those numerous testimonies in her favour, with which the writings of the most celebrated scholars of the age so frequently abound. In this we need not rely on the applauses bestowed on her by Ercole Strozzi, or Antonio Tebaldeo, who may be considered as the poets-laureate of Ferrara, the former of whom has in particular availed himself of every opportunity of resounding her praise. (a) Still less must we found our decision on the various poems, both in the Latin and Italian tongue, which Bembo has consecrated to her honour, because he may not be considered as an impartial judge. Yet we cannot pass unnoticed the letter, in which he inscribes to her his romance of the *Asolani*, which he completed and published at her request, and in which he addresses her “as a princess, who was more desirous of ornamenting her mind with excellent endowments, than her

(a) Several of the principal poems of Ercole Strozzi, as his *Venatio* and *Gigantomachia*, are inscribed to Lucretia, whom he also thus addresses at the close of one of his elegies, in which he relinquishes all further interference in public affairs.

“ Teque meum veneror, Cœlestis Borgia, Sidus,
 Qua nullum Hesperio purius orbe micat.
 Tu mihi carmen eris, tu lucida callis ad astra,
 Quâ niveas animas lacteus orbis habet ;
 Adsertæ superis, Juno, Pallasque, Venusque,
 Juno opibus, Pallas moribus, ore Venus.
 Regna tibi meliora, animique nitentior ardor,
 Plusque tua igniferi forma vigoris habet.
 Quis neget his cœlum meritis ? tua numina quondam
 Neilus, et extrema Baetis honore colent.
 Templâ tibi statuent, nec votis templâ carebunt ;
 At nostrum, inter tot grandia, majus erit.”

*Strozz. fil. Eleg. ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam
 Ferrariæ Ducem, Strozz. Op. p. 53.*

person with the decorations of dress. Applying all her leisure hours to reading or composition.—To the end,” says he, “that you may surpass other women, as much in the charms of your understanding, as you already do in those of external beauty, and may be better satisfied with your own applause, than with that, however infinite, of the rest of the world.”

The historians of Ferrara, so far from supposing that the family of Este was degraded by their union with Lucretia Borgia, mention her with the highest praise. Giraldi denominates her “a woman of uncommon excellence;” (a) and Sardi, “a most beautiful and amiable princess, adorned with every virtue.” (b) Yet more honourable is the praise of Libanori; who describes her as “a most beautiful and virtuous princess, endowed with every estimable quality of the mind, and with the highest polish of understanding; esteemed as the delight of the time, and the treasure of the age.” (c) Caviceo, in the year 1508, dedicated to her his work, entitled *Il Peregrino*, and adverting to the celebrated Isabella of Este, daughter of Ercole I. duke of Ferrara, and wife of Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, he conceives that he has given her sufficient praise, in asserting that she approaches next in excellence to Lucretia Borgia. (d) If the most remote idea had been entertained, that Lucretia had been the detestable character which the Neapolitan poets have represented, is it to be conceived, that this author would have introduced one of the first women in Italy, in point of rank, character, and accomplishments, as only second to her in merit?

(a) “Rarissima Donna.” *Girald. Comment. delle cose di Ferrara*, p. 181.

(b) “Donna bellissima, gentile, ed ornata d’ogni virtù.” *Sardi, Historie Ferraresi*, lib. x. p. 198.

(c) *Mazzuchelli Scrittori d’Italia*, vol. v. p. 1751.

(d) “Accede alla tua eccellentia quello lume che estinguere non si può, di quella vera mortale Dea, Elizabetta Estense di Gonzaga principessa Mantuana, alla quale le Muse fanno riverentia.” *Caviceo, Ap. Quadrio Storia d’ogni Poesia*, vol. vii. p. 70.

The marriage of Lucretia, with Alfonso of Este, was celebrated in a Latin epithalamium by Ariosto; but this may be considered as one of those complimentary tributes, which a youthful poet would be proud to pay to his prince. If however the moral character of the bride had been so notoriously disgraceful as to render her an object of abhorrence, it is scarcely to be supposed that Ariosto would have had the effrontery, or the absurdity, to represent her, as “rivaling in the decorum of her manners, as well as in the beauty of her person, all that former times could boast.” (a) The same author has, however, on a subsequent occasion given a more decisive testimony of his approbation. In the forty-second book of his immortal poem, he has raised a temple of female excellence, the splendid niches of which are occupied by women of the greatest merit and chief distinction in Italy; and among these, Lucretia Borgia assumes the first, and most conspicuous station. It is remarkable, that in the lines devoted to her praise on this occasion, the poet asserts that “Rome ought to prefer the modern Lucretia to the Lucretia of antiquity, *as well in modesty as in beauty*,” a comparison which, if the aspersions under which she has laboured, had obtained the slightest credit, could only have been considered as the severest satire. Each of his heroines is attended by two of the most distinguished poets of Italy, as heralds of their fame; those assigned to Lucretia Borgia, are Ercole Strozzi and Antonio Tebaldeo. (b)

(a) “ — clari soboles Lucretia Borgiæ,
Pulchro ore, et pulchris æquantem moribus aut quas
Verax fama refert, aut quas sibi fabula finxit.”

Ariost. Epithal. ap. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. vol. i. p. 344.

(b) “ La prima inscrizione ch' agli occhi occorre,
Con lungo onor *Lucretia Borgia* noma;
La cui bellezza, e onestà, preporre
Deve a l'antica la sua patria Roma.
I duo che voluto han sopra se torre
Tanto eccellente ed onorata soma,
Noma lo scritto, *Antonio Tebaldeo*,
Ercole Strozza; un Lino, ed uno Orfeo.”

Can. 42. St. 83.

These commendatory testimonies might be increased to a considerable extent from the works, both in prose and verse, which have been inscribed to her by those authors to whom she afforded encouragement and protection; (q) but

(a) Antonio Cornazzano addressed to her his *Life of the Virgin*, and *Life of Christ*, both in *terza rima*, (*Tirab.* vol. vi. par. ii. p. 161.) and Giorgio Robusto, of Alexandria, his poems, printed at Milan, about the year 1500. (*Quadrio*, vol. viii. p. 65.) To these I shall only add another testimony. Father Francesco Antonio Zaccharia, on examining the Jesuits' library of S. Fedele, at Milan, found a manuscript volume of poetry, the author of which, as appears by the dedication, was Luca Valenziano, of Tortona. Zaccharia imagined that these poems were unpublished, but there is extant a rare edition of them printed at Venice, by Bernardino de' Vitali, in 1532, 8vo. under the title of *Opere volgari di M. Luca Valenziano, Dertonese, ad istanza di Federigo di Gervasio, Napolitano*. The poems in question have great merit, particularly for their pathetic simplicity; and are dedicated in the manuscript copy, but not in the printed work, to Lucretia Borgia, in the following Latin verses:

“ *Ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Estensem ;*
Lucas Valentianus, Dertonensis,

“ Quæ tibi pauca damus, tali, Lucretia, fronte
Suscipe nunc, quali grandia dona soles.
Hæc ego dum canerem lacrymis rorantia, dixi ;
Præsideos nostræ, Borgia diva, lyræ.
O tecum Alphonsus duri post prælia Martis,
Otia Musarum quærere tuta velit.
Sic Cæsar, sic Rex Macedum, sic ille solebat,
Africa cui nomen, victa parente, dedit.
Hunc lege ; perlectum longo ditabis honore ;
Tutus et a rabido dente libellus erit.”

v. Raccolta d' Opuscoli di Calogerà, vol. xlv.

That Lucretia wrote Italian poetry is believed by Crescimbeni, who informs us that he had been assured by a person deserving of credit, and who was well acquainted with the early literature of Italy, that he had seen, in a collection of poems of the sixteenth century, several pieces attributed to her, but that notwithstanding all the researches made both at Rome and at Florence, no traces of them could now be discovered. The annotator on Crescimbeni is, however, of opinion, that if this had been the case, her works would have been noticed by Bembo in the many letters addressed to her, or by Aldo, in his preface to the works of the two Strozzi. “She was, however,” adds he, “a great patroness of literature, and by her means the court of Ferrara abounded with men distinguished even in foreign countries; among whom was the before-mentioned Bembo.” Mazzuchelli has, however, cited one of the letters of Bembo; from which it appears that she addressed some verses to him; but whether they were in Italian or

in addition to those already adduced, it may be sufficient to cite the grave and unimpeachable testimony of one, who, from the respectability of his character, cannot be suspected of flattery, and who indeed cannot be supposed to have had any other motives for his commendation, than such as he has himself assigned; the favour and assistance which he afforded to every meritorious undertaking, and to every useful art.

The person referred to, is the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio. From the tenor of his address to her, prefixed to his edition of the works of Tito and Ercole Strozzi, it appears that she had offered, not only to assist him in the establishment of his great undertaking, but also to defray the whole expense attending it. If the sentiments which he attributes to her, were in fact expressed by her, of which there appears no reason to doubt, they sufficiently mark a great and a virtuous mind. "Your chief desire," says he, "as you have yourself so nobly asserted, is to stand approved of God, and to be useful, not only to the present age, but to future times; so that when you quit this life, you may leave behind you a monument that you have not lived in vain." He then proceeds to celebrate in the warmest terms of approbation, her piety, her liberality, her justice, and her affability. If Lucretia was guilty of the crimes of which she stands accused, the prostitution of her

Spanish, which latter language she frequently adopted in her poetical compositions, he has not ventured to decide. It may, however, be presumed, from the following lines in one of the elegant Latin poems addressed to her by Bembo, that she wrote Italian poetry, and it is not therefore without sufficient reason that both Mazzuchelli and Quadrio have enumerated her among the writers of Italy,

" Te tamen in studio, et doctas traducis in artes,
Nec sinis ingenium splendida forma premat;
Sive refers lingua modulatum carmen Hetrusca,
Crederis Hetrusca nata puellâ solo;
Seu calamo condis numeros et carmina sumto
Illa novem possunt scripta decere Deas." &c.

Ad Lucretiam Borgiam, in Bemb. op. tom. iv. p. 345.

panegyrists is greater than her own; but of such a degradation several of the authors before cited were incapable; and we may therefore be allowed to conclude, that it is scarcely possible, consistently with the known laws of moral character, that the flagitious and abominable Lucretia Borgia, and the respectable and honoured duchess of Ferrara, could be united in the same person.*

* To the foregoing Dissertation on the Character of Lucretia Borgia, Mr. Henke has, in the German Ed. (vol. i. p. 370,) added a long and interesting note; in which, after some commendations of the motives of the author, he regrets, "that on a closer examination, this apology, conducted throughout with skill and benevolence, cannot, in a higher degree, produce the full effect which the author seems to have promised himself." On this I must observe, that it has produced all the effect I intended; which was merely to enable the reader, by an authentic statement of facts, to judge for himself on the degree of credit due to the reports respecting the conduct of Lucretia Borgia; and to shew what might, with truth and justice, be said in her defence. This statement Mr. Henke seems to think insufficient for her exculpation, and has undertaken to bring additional evidence in proof of her guilt, of a *more impartial nature and higher authority*, as he supposes, than any that has before been adduced. I cannot therefore dismiss the present edition, without either appearing to assent to his conclusions, or giving his arguments that refutation, of which, as I conceive, they so readily admit; and I must therefore intreat the indulgence of the reader whilst I offer a few remarks on the subject.

I have said, that Mr. Henke has undertaken to bring *additional* evidence against the accused; but I ought rather to have said, that he has discarded all former testimony, and has taken upon himself the whole burthen of the charge. He fully admits, with me, that the decision ought not to depend upon the imputations of the *Neapolitan Poets*, any more than on the commendations of the *Ferrarese* and other writers who have made Lucretia Borgia the subject of their verses, or have dedicated to her their works. He also admits, that the observations I have made respecting the testimony of *Guicciardini*, in this instance, are well founded; on which account "this witness," he says, "may also be withdrawn." But "there remains," he observes, "*one* against whom neither a suspicion of partiality, nor a reproach of credulity can take place, and to whom our author has not yet afforded a hearing."—"This is the celebrated Peter Martyr of Milan, who had already written from Spain, (Epist. 178, p. 101,) in the year 1497, when the songsters of the Neapolitan court had not yet become very loud: 'Nuper allatæ sunt ad me literæ ab urbe; Astræam ferunt, vento velocius, ab ea discessisse, aufugisseque ad superos, nec reversuram putant, Bove sceptra tenente; Palatium sanctorum quondam patrum habitaculum, ubi claves tollendi claudendique tam inferorum quam superiorum portas insident, *nefandis pontificiarum natarum nuptiis, atque profanæ nunc Veneri patens est. Nec fratribus ibi parcitur, ut fama est, nec alias utcumque proprio sanguini.*'"

On this evidence, upon which Mr. Henke appears to have placed his chief re-

liance, I must observe that Peter Martyr, the elder, the writer of the letter in question, was not a native of Milan; but was born in the vicinity of *Anghiera*, a small town in Italy, whence he was usually called *Anglerius*, and that he is not to be confounded with Peter Martyr, the well known reformer; that he was an ecclesiastic of the Romish church, and resided during the greater part of his life at a distance from Rome, and chiefly in Spain, under the immediate patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella. With respect to the letter itself, it affects to be nothing more than the relation of a report, which the writer had heard from Rome, and on which he cautiously abstains from giving his opinion, "*Nuper allatæ sunt literæ ab urbe*"—"ferunt Astræum discessisse"—"*ut fama est, &c.*" in short, a mere hearsay evidence, and such as cannot be admitted even on the most trivial question. Mr. Henke conceives that "the concluding words of his extract speak the more strongly, as they are expressed with the greater delicacy;" but these words refer only to the scandalous spectacles said to be exhibited at Rome on the marriage of Lucretia, and to the death of the Duke of Gandia, who was supposed to have been assassinated by his brother Cæsar Borgia. Neither the competency of the witness, nor the tenor of his testimony, can therefore be allowed to have any bearing upon the present case.

In the assertion I have made that "throughout the whole narrative of Burchard, (who seems on no occasion to have concealed what might disgrace his superiors or himself,) there appears no intimation of that criminal intercourse of which Lucretia has been accused," Mr. Henke fully agrees; but he at the same time contends, that although Burchard has not, for reasons easily assignable, referred to it, he has inserted in his diary an oration, or philippic, which he calls a writing of impeachment, printed in Germany, and sent to the Cardinal of Modena, as a seditious sermon against the pope, his family, and government; and which, according to Burchard, was read before the pontiff himself. This piece Mr. Henke observes, "is outrageous and rude, but it is also energetic, and full of truth." Of the fact of its having been read before the pope we may judge from the following passage, in which Alexander is described as "*Proditor generis humani, qui omnem ætatem suam stupris et rapinis contaminavit; infamis bestia; omnium ætatum detestabilissima vitiorum vorago, et gurgis altissimus; ejus filius fratricida, et cardinali sicarius,*" &c. Is it possible to believe that such a paper as this was read before the pope? and such a pope as Alexander VI.? or is it not more likely to be an interpolation into the annals of Burchard, manufactured in Germany, and first printed by Eccard? (Vol. ii. p. 2145, reference of Mr. Henke.) For this reason I shall not reprint the long extract which Mr. Henke has given from this oration; but shall merely observe, that even if it could be thought authentic, the particular passage, which he seems to think inculpates Lucretia of the crime of which she is accused, has no necessary reference to that subject.

But whatever may be the construction put upon this additional evidence, I must be permitted to observe, that it is only a repetition of those reports, the truth or falsehood of which can neither be positively affirmed or denied; whilst in what I have stated, I have relied on facts which speak for themselves, and can neither be perverted or misunderstood. I have shewn that Alexander, so far from having manifested a criminal passion for his own daughter, lost no time in disposing of her in marriage, where she was to pass her life at a distance from him. I have shewn that at the very time when these pretended crimes are represented to have

been the most flagrant, she was received as a wife by one of the most distinguished princes of Italy, who it cannot be supposed, would have admitted, as the partner of his throne and of his bed, a woman publicly branded as the prostitute of her father and of her brothers. I have demonstrated also that she was worthy of the high station to which she was raised, and that she was not only beloved by her husband for her accomplishments, but confided in, by him, for her judgment and good sense; and from these, and many other circumstances stated in the foregoing dissertation, I have been led to conclude, that she could, *at no time*, have been the depraved and abandoned character which the enemies of her father (perhaps more in resentment to him than in enmity to herself,) have represented her to be.

The Conte Cav. Luigi Bossi, the Italian translator of the present work, has shewn himself more disposed to a favourable construction of the character of Lucretia Borgia; and has in his edition produced several authentic and valuable documents relating to her. Amongst these are five original letters from her to the eminent Gian-Giorgio Trissino, the author of the *Italia Liberata*, and one of the most learned and accomplished men of the time. From these letters, written whilst she was duchess of Ferrara, it appears that she greatly depended on the judgment of Trissino, in the education of Ercole, her eldest son, afterwards duke of Ferrara, by the name of *Ercole II.*; that on this occasion, Trissino recommended *Nicolò Lazzarino*, an eminent scholar of the time, who was accordingly appointed preceptor, and gave great satisfaction in that office. In other respects these letters demonstrate that the duchess well knew how to unite condescension with dignity, and the style of a sovereign with the cordiality of a friend. These letters, the originals of which are preserved in the collection of the noble brothers, Trissino, Conti dal Vello d' Oro, resident in Vicenza, were copied for insertion in the Italian edition of this work, by Sig. Francesco Testa, of the same place, and will be found in the Appendix to the present edition, No. LI. where I shall also give another letter, published by Bossi, from Trissino to Bembo, both of them great admirers of the duchess of Ferrara, which may serve to give a more correct idea of the nature of the friendship and attachment which subsisted amongst the parties, than any other document to which I can refer; of this last I shall here also give an English translation, first premising, that the duchess had presented Trissino with a medallion of herself, (impressions of which are yet preserved in several collections,) which Bembo was desirous of obtaining from him; and that being disappointed in his expectations, he had written a fretful and complaining letter, to which Trissino returned the following reply, which may be considered as a model of elegance, moderation, and good sense.

Gian-Giorgio Trissino to Pietro Bembo.

“ I perceive that your mild and forbearing temper has been somewhat too much ruffled by your not having obtained the medallion you requested from me, of which I am not so unjust and avaricious an estimator, as not to be sensible how much I ought to prefer to it your favour and satisfaction; but having received it on the conditions I hold it, from one who is more the owner of it than myself, I cannot, by these means, conciliate your regard, which I would willingly purchase with any thing else of much higher value. For, if the resem-

blance which this medallion gives of the lady you admire (*la donna amata*), justifies in your opinion the wish to possess it, why should it not, for the same reason, justify in me the desire to retain it? independently of that duty which engages me not to part with it, on any account whatever. Two strong ties, affection and fidelity, dispute with me the power of making you this present, from which, I am certain, your own worth and good sense cannot release me; for if you esteem and value in me any thing that is commendable, you ought, above all things, to esteem and value that which you yourself possess in so eminent a degree; on which account I flatter myself, that dismissing any cause of dissatisfaction, you will indulgently afford a more liberal opening for my apologies, and will not hesitate in exerting that authority which you possess of disposing of me at your pleasure; being assured that the regret which I feel, in not being able to comply with your request, is much greater than the disappointment you experience in having made it in vain."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

(Page 15.)

Io ho inteso, per una vostra de' 30 di Gennajo, el desiderio avete di Giovanni vostro figliuolo, il che se io avessi inteso avanti la morte del Cardinale di Roana, mi sarei ingegnato adempire; ma sono ben contento, nei primi benefizj vacanti, fare il meglio che io potrò. Alla giornata di Ferrara, dove dite haver promesso andare, v'avrei consigliato non andasse punto, ma che guardasse bene tener sicura vostra persona, perchè non conosco e personaggi, nè il luogo dove v'avete a trovare, et v'arei mandato uno imbasciatore di quà in vostra excusatione; nientedimanco poichè l'havete promesso, me ne rapporto a voi, et alla buona hora sia et a Dio.

Luy.

Scripta Auplesis du Parch. Die 17 Feb. 1482.

No. II.

(Page 20.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Florent.

*Magnifico Viro maiori honorando, Johanni de Lanfredinis,
Oratori Florentino, Romæ.*

MAGNIFICE MAIOR HONORANDE,

Ho inteso quanto v'ha decto N. S. circa la promotione, et di chi, et respondendo breve per essere occupatissimo, dubi-

tando non essere soprastato ad rispondere per essere stato fuori, quando hebbi questo vostro avviso. A me pare, che S. Santità non debbi differire la promotione, se non tanto quanto e' non può più accelerare, perchè giudico, quando S. Santità lo harà facto, gli parerà essere un' altro Pontefice che fino quì non è stato; perchè dove è stato capo senza membri, sia con quelli; dove è stato factura d'altri, che altri sia factura sua; et però lo confortate, et importunate al venire a quella conclusione che debbe, prima che può; perchè periculum est in mora, et nel fare acquisti, et nel differire perde. Sicchè in questa parte usate tutta la vostra auctorità perchè segua questa benedicta promotione, et prima che si può; che avendo mosso la cosa in Collegio non è da allentare, o ritardare senza gravissima perdita della dignità, et comodo di sua Beatitudine.

Quanto al chi, approvo tutti quelli segnati col punto, et sono quelli medesimi che altre volte mi dicesti. Commendo bene ne metta inanzi molti per tirare più commodamente quelli che vuole, et se può consolare noi, se ne ricordi. Quando la promotione si differissi per noi, diteli, facci e sua. Se dovessi farne uno solo per cominciarne un tracto a fare, et che paia, che possa; et poi di tempo in tempo col favore di quelli harà facti, non gli mancherà modi di fare degli altri, et soddisfare a ciascuno, et per quella parte del Signor Francesco mi piace la deliberatione di Nostro Signore, et non è da ometterla, perchè è tucta la importantia di questa cosa, et la causa principale perchè si viene a questo acto, et Sua Santità absente come presente può fare quello medesimo; per questo non è da tardare, ne da torsi tempo, poichè Dio gliele prepara tanto oportuno. Questo è el parere mio, aspectando con desiderio di per di quello seguirà, in che vi prego mettiate diligentia, come solete, et a voi ricordo, che con tucto el cuore ringratiate Nostro Signore della humanità che usa verso di me, et della fede mi presta benemerita della servitù, et observantia mia verso Sua Santità.

LAURENTIUS DE MEDICIS.

Florentiæ, die xvi. Junii, 1488.

No. III.

(Page 21.)

INNOCENTIO VIII. PONT. MAX.

SANCTISSIME ac beatissime Pater et Domine. Post pedum oscula beatorum.

Intendendo dall'imbasciatore nostro che la S. V. è in fermo proposito di fare nuovi cardinali in brevi giorni, me parrebbe meritare grandissima reprehensione, se io non le ricordassi in questo caso l'honore di questa città et mio anchora, che per sua clementia sono certissimo, secondo mi scrivi l'imbasciatore predetto, che quella se ne ricorda. Ringratio la S. V. di tale sua dispositione, e supplico a quella molto humilmente, se mai sono per ricevere alcuno rilevato beneficio da quella, si degni abundantemente e con effecto porgerne il premio della gratia sua, della quale la richieggo questa volta con quella efficacia che farei a N. S. Dio la salute dell'anima mia. Io non credo che in tutto el tempo del pontificato suo la S. V. possa fare cosa che porti seco maggiore obligatione di questa città verso la S. V. perchè come questa dignità è stata molto rara, et per conseguenza da uno tempo in quà molto desiderata, così passerebbe con grandissima molestia quando restassi mal contenta. Di me in particolare non parlo, perchè non potrei desiderare più questa cosa che è in effecto un desiderio ardentissimo dello honore mio, el quale havendo sempre preposto alla vita propria, può considerare la S. V. quando seguissi altrimenti ch'io spero, in che termine mi troveria, che non mi parebbe esser più al mondo. L'imbasciatore nostro è informato a punto de' pensieri miei, dalli quali non sono punto mutato, nè vorrei perdere il bene pe'l meglio, quando il meglio non si possa. Però non potendo obtenersi el primo, supplico la S. V. si degni nell' altro tenere la mano su lo honore mio, ricordando però alla S. V. con ogni humiltà, devotione, et fede, che in questo caso quella non ha da havere altra legge o resistentia

se non quella che lei medesima vorrà per benignità ed humanità sua; perchè in arbitrio di V. S. è, et assolutamente in mano sua tutta questa cosa, et conseguendo questo immortale beneficio mi chiamo per sempre satisfatto et obligatissimo. Senza questo non veggo modo come sia in facultà di V. S. di soddisfare e ricomperare l'honor mio, et la opinione che quella hà data che io sia nella gratia sua. Raccomandomi humilmente alli piedi di V. B. e supplicola mi habbi per excusato se io non li ho scripto di mano propria, che lo hò facto per darle mancho molestia, non essendo troppo buono scriptore, et anche perchè me trovo impedito da una mano, e sariami stato difficile.

V. S. Humillimus Servitor.

LAUR. DE MEDICIS.

Florentiæ, die 1. Octb. 1488.

No. IV.

(Page 22.)

Ex origin. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Florent.

Rev. Domino mio Domino Cardinali Sa. Mariæ in Porticu.

REV. Domine mi. Benchè io sia certissimo, che con fede et amore l'Imbasciadore nostro facci le cose mie, et io non me ne potrei più confidare, pure molte experientie passate mi fanno havere molti dubi in questa promotione di nuovi Cardinali. Confortami la devotione mia nella Signoria V. Rev. la quale priegho con tucto el cuore mio, che in questo punto attenta la buona dispositione di N. S. ch' ella non abandoni la servitù mia; ne tanta fede, et speranza quanta io riposo in quella, resti vana, che mi reputerei sotterrato. La Signoria V. Rev. per experientia ha sempre conosciuto, che io ho preposto lo honore alla vita; et quando questo mio desiderio non succedessi, non so se mi contentassi di più vivere. In somma io raccomando alla Signoria V. Rev. lo honore di questa Repubblica et mio, con quella efficacia,

che farei a Dio la salute dell' anima mia. Io non parlo de' particolari, che me ne rimetto all' Imbasciadore, et sono fermo in quelli medesimi pensieri et non vorrei perdermi el bene pel meglio, quando il meglio non si potessi; non obstante il desiderio, che ne mostra N. S. che sarebbe anche il mio, quando si potessi. Io confido assai nella Signoria V. Rev. laquale priegho tenga le mani su l'honore mio, et a quella me raccomandando humilmente.

LAURENTIUS DE MEDICIS.

manu propria f.

Florentiæ, die primo Decembris.

No. V.

(Page 22.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico Viro maiori meo honorando Johanni de Landredinis Oratori Florentino, Romæ.

CIRCA la promotione, havendo ricevuta la lettera di Mons. Ascanio, mi pare havere gran pegno di questo desiderio, et speranza mia; con questa sarà la risposta, non quale bisognerebbe, ma seconda che posso, et so fare io. A me piace tra le altre cose, che habbate bene disposto *** ne mai in vero hebbi altra opinione, perchè non li feci mai se non piacere, et honore, et sono apto, et disposto in ogni occasione a fargliene più che mai. Con *** non mi pare habbate facto pocho a fermarlo, che non contradica; se non potete trarne più, mi pare da ringratiarlo di questo, et certificarlo, che per la natura sua quello obligo harò di questo, che con gli altri del favore manifesto; pure quando si potessi, mi sarebbe molto grato el consenso suo. La opera vostra, et l'auctorità di N. S. forse doverrebbero condurlo, pure a ogni modo che questa cosa venga, mi sarà grande, et charissima. Ricordovi, quando vi pare havere le cose disposte, non mettere dilatione nel fare lo effecto, et benchè voi mi

diate termine in sino a Venerdì, che saremo a di xx, alle volte si sogliono prolungare, et a me parebbe d'assicurarsene il più presto si può, senza aspectare 4. tempora. Voi avete però governato tanto bene questa cosa, che mi pare superfluo a ricordarvi di quà altro.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

Florentiæ, die xv. Februarii, 1488—9.

No. VI.

(Page 22.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico Viro majori meo honorando Johanni de Lanfredinis Oratori Florentino, Romæ.

Io rispondo con una lettera di mia mano alli Rev. Mons. Vicecancelliere, et Monsign. Ascanio. La lettera, che mi hanno scripta, e le opere, che mi scrivete voi, che tucto di fa Mons. Ascanio in beneficio nostro, meritano altre gratie che di parole. Conosco, et per li vostri advisi, et per le mie considerationi, ove restava lo honore et speranza mia, se non fussi suta resuscitata dalle opere di Sua Rev. Signoria, et quello che mi valeva e parentadi, amicitie, et fede, &c. La difficultà di questa cosa, la diligentia, et studio di Sua Rev. Signoria fanno tanto grande il beneficio, che non solo obligano me, et M. Giovanni, ma tucti quelli, che saranno mai di noi; perchè non reputo altrimenti questo beneficio, et opera di Mons. Ascanio, che se diventassi di morto vivo. Horamai sto in buona opinione, veduto come piglia questa cosa per me, et quello me ne hanno scripto. Sforzerommi, se harò mai facultà, o possanza in beneficio, et honore di Sua Rev. Signoria not vi mettere ne sale, ne olio; et basti, et più tosto fare con effecto, che dire molte parole.

Oltra quello, che io scrivo al Rev. Mons. Vicecancelliere comunemente a Mons. Ascanio, desidero facciate intendere al prefato Mons. Vicecancelliere, che io conosco molto bene

di che qualità è l'opera, che fa per me; et se l'honore mio non fussi suto sollevato da S.Rev. Signoria restava in pessimo luogo, et non so se mi fussi voluto più vivere. Non poteva accadere cosa, in che io conoscessi meglio l'affectione, et charità di Sua Rev. Signoria verso di me, et che più me obligassi. Offeritegli liberamente non solo la persona, et tucte le cose mie, ma tucto quello, che potrà mai M. Giovanni, che sarà più suo, che mio; et so si ricorderà sempre conseguendo quello grado haverlo da Sua Signoria Rev. et forse acchaderà, che li potrà rendere qualche parte del merito. Prieghovi facciate efficacissimamente intendere a Sua Signoria Rev. quello, che non posso io scriverli; perchè in effecto io conosco molto più questo obligo, et molto più desidero pagarlo potendo, che non esprimere.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

Florentiæ, die xxi. Februarii, 1488—9.

No. VII.

(Page 23.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

*Magnifico Viro majori meo honorando Johanni de Lanfr-
dinis, Oratori Florentino, Romæ.*

Io ho indugiato all' ultimo capitolo el facto della promotione; perche anchora voi volentieri indugiate lo effecto. Per l'ultima vostra de' dì ultimo intendo havevate gia xv. cardinali soscripti; ma che N. S. ha indugiato di prolungare, non s'intendendo altro del Fratello del Turco; io credo questa prolongatione sarà ad ogni modo, et non me ne rallegro punto, non tanto per el pericolo, che cosi porta, che non è pocho, quanto per vedere ***.*** a mettere in *****. In effecto io ne sto di mala voglia, et per lo exemplo mio ho gran compassione di voi. Havete tempo a mandare la forma dello adviso al publico, la quale ha facto pressochè uno grande scandalo; perchè leggendo la poliza, prima che la ettera, et non vi essendo su copia, o altro inditio, credetti,

che lo adviso fussi vero, et manchò poco che non lo comunicai. A me pare importi pocho el modo dello advisare. Qui se ne parla tanto pubblicamente, che è troppo; et però non ci manderesti cosa nuova, et che non sia aspectata da nessuno, salvo che da me; che non so donde si nasca, che non mi ci sono mai potuto appichare, pure per non mancare di quello si può, vi mando con questa la fede del Doctorato di M. Giovanni, et della ordinatione a Diacono, &c. Mandovi anchora una lettera dell' Arcivescovo a me, et benchè sia forse passionato, pure in questi casi d'importantia si vuole intendere ogni huomo. Se potete strignere il papa a trarne le mani, mi pare lo dobbiate fare. Potresti usare a questo tucti e circumstanti del papa; perchè et Doria Arriabene, et gli altri che aiutano, el Castellano el Datario, Aleria, et tucti doveresti potere muovere pure il papa a trarne le mani. Io veggho nello indugio tanto male, che non ardisco dirlo; se c'è modo, come dico, cavate voi et me di questa anxietà et sopratucto tenete di presso ***.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

Florentiæ, die v. Martii, 1488—9.

No. VIII.

(Page 24.)

Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico ac potenti viro Laurentio de Medicis, tanquam fratri nostro carissimo.

MAGNIFICE ac potens frater noster carissime, salutem.

Quod bonum, felix, et faustum sit Reverendissimo filio vestro, Magnificentiae Vestrae, et Civitati Florentinae! Hac hora creatus fuit in Cardinalem, Filius Vester Reverendissimus D. Joannes de Medicis, quod nobis tantæ voluptati est, quantæ ulla res esse potuisset, &c.

Totus vester,

JO. CARDINALIS. ANDEGAVENSIS.

Romæ, viiii. Martii, 1489.

No. IX.

(Page 24.)

*Ex Carmin. Illust. Poet. Ital. tom. vii. p. 182.**Exultatio ad Joannem Medicem filium, quod ad cardinalatus dignitatem assumptus fuerit.*

SERA quidem, festina tamen gratatur honori
 Littera nostra tuo; sed enim transcendere dudum
 Hyberna glacie obductas expalluit Alpes.
 Quod si pulchra sinu tunc me Florentia grato
 Fovisset, properata animi monumenta benigni
 Carmina cepisses, vel quæ calor ille ministrat
 Lætitia superante furens, nec gaudia pectus
 Attigerant moderata meum, mihi Laurus in ore,
 Laurus in ardenti resonabat pectore, tales
 Quæ nobis tulerat generoso e germine fructus,
 Perpetua quæ fronde viret, semperque virebit
 Florentes totum ramos sparsura per orbem.
 Egregia de stirpe puer jam concipe dignos
 His meritis animos, sensus jam sume seniles.
 Christi sancta tuo stabunt sub cardine signa:
 Ne succumbe, oneri fac par videare ferendo:
 Spem supera, nulli major quæ contigit umquam.
 Qua tute hanc tantam meruisti scandere sedem.
 Te patriæ, virtutis amor succendat, alantque
 Egregios mores laudis monumenta paternæ,
 Ut quandoque etiam possis majora mereri,
 Eximiumque caput sacra redimire tyara
 Pontificis summi; proh gaudia quanta parenti
 Tum dabis, et quantus mihi tum spirabit Apollo.

JO. FRANCISC. PHILOMUS.

No. X.

(Page 24.)

Ex monument. Ang. Fabronii ad vitam Laur. Med.

RINGRAZIATO sia dio di questa buona novella, che hiermattina a hore 9. ricevei di Mess. Gio. nostro, la quale mi pareva tanto maggiore, quanto per la grandezza, l'aspettavo manco: parendomi cosa molto sopra e meriti miei, et per se difficile tanto, che sapeva quasi dell' impossibile. Ho cagione di ricordarmi sempra di chi se n'è affaticato, et lasciare anchora questo ricordo a quelli che succederanno a me, perchè questa è la maggior cosa, che facessi mai casa nostra, et a voi basta che io intendo questo, perchè invero la reputo più che e tre quarti della diligentia, industria et amore vostro. Questa parte mi riserbo in altro tempo et modo. A N. S. mi è parso scrivere al presente una lettera di ringraziamento, che sarà con questa: cosi rispondo a Bala et Ascanio, da quali solamente ho per hora avuto lettere, et da voi aspetto più particolare avviso di più cose, come intenderete appresso. Io non so se sarà dispiaciuto a N. S. la dimostrazione e festa, che quì se n'è facta universalmente, che mai mi parve vedere più vera e generale allegrezza. Sarebbesene facti molti altri segni; ma io non ho lasciato, et questi che si sono facti, non ho potuto impedire. Dirò questo, perchè essendo pronunziato Mess. Gio. secreto, queste dimostrazioni pajono opposite a questa intentione, ma voi publicasti questa cosa costà in modo, che forse non sarà suto carico quello che è suto facto per lo exemplo di costà, ne io ho potuto negare o non acceptare la congratulatione di tucta questa città insino a minimi; se pure e inconveniente, era impossibile, che non fussi, e questo harei caro intendere, come in futuro n'habbiamo a governare, et che vita e modi ha a tenere Mess. Gio. et l'abito et la famiglia, perchè non vorrei cominciare a pagare questo grandissimo beneficio con usarlo male et fuori dell' intentione di N. S. Intanto Mess. Gio. si sta in casa, la quale da hieri in quà è stata

continuamente piena di gente, et però advisatemi quello habbiamo a fare di lui. Così se accadessi che havessi a scrivere, che soscriptione o suggello ha ad usare; et circa la Bolla sono certo harete tutti e riguardi; quando potete mandatela per consolatione degli amici. La misura della grandezza sua vi mando in questa; ma da hiermattina in quà mi pare cresciuto et mutato. Spero in Mess. Domenedio, che vi farà honore delle fatiche vostre, et N. S. ne sarà ogni dì più contento. Aspecto, se vi pare, che io mando Piero secondo vi ho scripto; perchè a mio parere questo beneficio meriterebbe non che altro che io venissi in persona. Di tutto mi governerò secondo il parer vostro.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

No. XI.

(Page 27.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico Laurentio Medici Patrono optimo.

MAGNIFICE Patrone mi. Voi mi havete più volte dato animo et ricordato che io stessi intento a qualche cosa honorevole, che io per me havendo horamai da vivere colla mia brigata, et non conoscendo richiedersi, nè alla qualità mia, nè a meriti, più che quello mi havete dato, non haverei havuto animo di molestarvi ulterius; ma voi credo havete pensato quello si convengha alla grandezza dell' animo et fortuna vostra, che non suole essere contenta, ne debba dell' ordinario, &c. Intendo di buon luogo, che'l figliolo di Giovanni D'Orsino sta molto male, quello che ha la Pieve di Laterina. Se V. M. non vi facessi su disegno per altri, me gli ricordo. La Pieve è comoda, anzi vicina a Gruopina, et a me sarebbe un Vescovado, che non sarìa così a un altro. Questo solo vi ricordo, che per experientia vedrete, che li benefici mi farete non saranno mal collocati, perchè non spendo, nè la roba, nè'l tempo, se non in cose honorevole nè meno a V. M. che a me. Mandovi una Elegia di uno dis-

oendente di Dante Alighieri, che si chiama Dante quinto dal poeta, et terzo del nome; el quale a Verona conobbi, et vedrete una Pistola di sua mano, dove si ricorda di me; m'e paruta una novellitia di cotesto luogo et tempo.

Vorrei che V. M. intendessi, se Maestro Pier Lione volessi durar fatica in riveder quella mia traductione di Hippocrate, e Galieno, che è quasi al fine, et così el commento, che fo sopra, dove dichiaro tutti e termini medicinali, che venghono dal Greco, et truovo come si possino chiamar Latine. Se la sua Exc. volessi durar fatica, poi al tempo la manderei fuori più arditamente; che stimo sarà bella cosa et utile, se l'amor non me ne inganna. Mes. Hermolao, e'l Conte, mostrono pur d' haverne buona opinione.

Udii cantar improvviso, hierser l'altro, Piero nostro, che mi venne assaltare a casa, con tutti questi improvisanti, satisfecemi a maraviglia, et presertim ne' motti, et ne'l rinbeccare, et nella facilità et pronuntia, che mi pareva tutta via veder et udir Va. Mia. Prego Iddio ce lo mantengha lungho tempo, hoc est semper dum vivimus, et a voi dia vita lunghissima con questo godimento, et delli altri. Raccomandomi a Va. Mia.

V. M. Servulus,

ANGELUS POLITIANUS.

Florentiæ, die 5, Junii, 1490.

No. XII.

(Page 33.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Al mio Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici.

MAGNIFICO Lorenzo: addui vostre, una del far condurre Franciocto ad Firenze, l'altra de haver per consiglio de' Medici proceduto al taglio, ad che non ho risposto prima, si per esser chiaro non esserli mancato nulla, che sempre ho veduto V. M. amarlo come figliolo, si anche per esser stato el dubio de la morte de N. Sre. che bisognava

pensare ed altro. Venni, e quì ad Roma, e visitai N. Sre: el quale benchè fosse senza pericolo, che havia passato un gran ponte, pur essendo stata la infermità longa, et esserli rimasta la quartana, et havendo la età che hà, non obstante non se ce veda pericolo subito, pur in longo viaggio se trova de mal passi. Dopo visitata sua Santità, visitai alcuni Cardinali, et per lo debito mio, et perchè spero valermene, non meno che la M. V. et quod sit quies senectutis meæ, li raccomandai Messer Johanni, et che volessero esserli favorevoli allo intrare in conclai. Fome risposto molto generalmente sub ista forma verborum: Domine Archiepiscopo, ad tucte le rasioni de Mess. Johanni, et per respecto della casa vostra et del Patre se li haverà riguardo de non offenderli. Stren-gendoli io un poco più, come la S. V. fa dubio non intre in Conclai, et che non habbia voto; me repuse, non siamo ancora ad questo; el Papa stà bene, et quando succedesse el caso della morte, siate certo se li ha ad havere respecto, per li respecti ve ho dicti. Dolendome che Sua Santità me spacciava in sul genere, me respuse: Domine Archiepiscopo, io non te posso dire altro. Con un altro cardinale d'altra factione, o simele, o poco varia sententia ebbi. Depoi parlai col Cardinale Ursino, dal quale ho havuto quel medesimo: o che proceda da mia dapocagine, o vero da qualche particolare, in cosa de simile importantia, non me hanno spacciato così pel generale. Non voglio non haver facto adverte V. M. et ancora che essendo io de casa Ursina de patre et de matre; che tra el Cardinale, el Conte de Pitigliano da un canto, Virginio et li altri della casa dall' altro, sia qualche ruggine, Vostra M. se chiarisca con chi sia più espediente al favore de Messer Johanni, adciò che el Cardinale, el Conte non v'abbia ad dire, nui siamo homini del Collegio, bisogna ne andamo con esso; e'l Sr. Virginio non ve possa dire, è stato ordinato ch' io non possa intrare in Roma. Non ho possuto più, et pero iterum replico ad una cosa, che tanto importa, voglia uscire del generale V. M. alla quale me raccomando.

RAY. DE URSINIS ARCHIEPS. FLORENT.

Ex Urbe, die v. Octobris, 1490.

No. XIII.

(Page 33.)

Laurentio de Medicis. Magnifice vir major honorande, &c.

RISPONDERO al presente più particolarmente alla vostra de dì 15, et benchè per la mia de' 14. vi scrivessi a lungo circa le cose di M. Gio. pure vedendo quanto ne replicate di nuovo, dirò quello ne intendo. Egli è vero, che io credo, che dalla parte dei cardinali non sia molta difficoltà ad consentire la publicatione di Mess. Gio. per li respecti che per altre vi ho scripto, anzi mi pare esser certo la debbino desiderare; ma la difficoltà sarà dalle parte del Papa, il quale giudicando, che il facto di M. Gio. sia al sicuro, non credo che volentieri si disponga a pubblicarlo solo; non solo perchè facendolo offenderebbe li altri, che sono nel grado suo, et anchora e Principi, a' quali ha promesso in questa prima publicatione satisfargli, ma anchora perchè col tenere le cose sospese spera havere più facile el collegio alla voglia sua, disegnando volerne fare almeno uno de' sua, et quando Ascanio procurava el Breve per assicurarsi della publicatione del Malleacense, più volti mi disse commendando la modestia vostra, che ad ogni modo intendeva abbreviare el tempo, et pubblicare Messer Giovanni, imponendomi che di questo per sua parte vi scrivessi, et così mi pare essere certo habbi ad farlo, et però nel temptarlo hora non so in che dispositione me l'habbi ad trovare, pure perchè veggo lo desiderate assai, et quando si potessi fare, sarebbe et honorevole et uno uscire di compromesso: quando vedrò il tempo comodo, userò ogni ingegno et diligentia, et come gli harò parlato di simile materia, vi potrò dare migliore giudicio di quello si possi sperare. Nè crediate, che per parlargli al presente si potessi fare alchuno frutto, che ciascuno è advertito non gli parlare se non di cose piacevoli, et sempre se gli parla col testimonio, perchè il parlare secreto, et il cerchare di parlargli solo, denoterebbe qualche cosa d'importantia. Egliè più di uno mese, che cardinale alchuno non

gli ha parlato excepto quelli di Palazzo. E ben vero che alchuni prelati piacevoli, come Messer Falcone, sono stati introdotti qualche volta al Papa, et l' Arcivescovo nostro anchora per introductione del Sig. Francesco gli ha parlato, ma di cose piacevoli, et se farà Consistorio, non se gli parlerà d'altro, che di spacciare qualche Chiesa. Et però vi concludo, che il cerchare di parlargli hora, come richiederebbe la materia, non riuscirebbe, et se pure riuscisse, non so come al Papa fusse grato, trovandosi ne' termini che si trova, et dubiterei non fussi per fargli fare qualche sinistra opinione di se. A me pare che al continuo vadi migliorando, come mi parrà che il tempo lo patisca, gli parlerò, et allora vi potrò dire qualche cosa con più fondamento; ma presupponete, che l'habbi ad stare anchora parecchi giorni. Se pure ad voi paressiche habbi ad tenere altri modi, ne advisate et lo farò.

Ho visto quanto vi scrive l'Arcivescovo. A me anchora haveva decto el medesimo che scrive a voi; et perchè possiate giudicare meglio lo scrivere suo, vi nominerò quelli Cardinali, co' quali lui dice havere parlato de' facti di Mess. Gio. et che gli hanno risposto sul generale. Il primo è Vicecancelliere, S. Maria in Portico, Napoli, Siena et Orsino. Et voi sapete quello v'ho scripto del Vicecancelliere, che infra l'altre cose m'ha decto, che volendo mi farà un scripto di sua mano: S. Maria in Portico sapete quello vi ha scripto oltre quello che ha decto a me. Et del Orsino et di Napoli non vi posso dire altro se non quanto più volte vi ho scripto. Siena parla honorevolmente, et sapete quello vi mandò a dire per Messer Pandolfo, et però per lo scrivere dell' Arcivescovo non dovete mutare opinione. Et perchè replicate che una parte del Collegio è male disposta verso el Malleacense, non credo vi possa essere scripto con fondamento, se non il medesimo che v'ho scripto io; et il fondamento principale, che si fa per chi desiderebbe difenderlo, è che presuppongono che lui non habbi la Bolla. Et perchè v'ho per ogni mia affermato, che quando da principio gli fusse facta qualche difficoltà, in fine credo che abbi ad essere trattato nel grado di M. Giovanni, et con tutto questo vi conforto perseguitare el consiglio delli amici, che quando

habbi ad venire, venga solo ; pigliando quella colore che vi parrà per non generare suspecto al Sig. Lodovico, nè anchora a Ascanio, et crediatemi, che per uno Cardinale solo havete da stimare Ascanio quanto alchuno altro, perchè vi è veramente affectionato, et ha auctorità et seguito d'alcuni.
Romæ, xix Octobris 1490, hora 5 noctis.

No. XIV.

(Page 34.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Florent.

Magnifico Viro maiori meo honorando Johanni de Lanfredinis Oratori Florentino. Romæ.

Non so se hayete inteso a questa hora quello, che ha risposto el Re, circa quanto li scripsi in favore vostro, della pensione di 200 ducati sopra el Priorato di Capua, che in effecto mostra non ve l'avere promessa, nè havere dispositione di farlo, et in su questo me ha facto intendere la Mta. Sua, che quando io volessi acceptare il Beneficio per Julio mio Nipote, sarà contentissima di darglielo. Intendendo io che el Beneficio è degno, et havendo facto pensiero di dare uno simile adviamento a Julio, me è paruto d'acceptarlo. Pertanto mi pare facciate intenderlo a N. S. acciòchè se ne expedisca le Bolle, et anchora che si possa fare per mezzo del gran Maestro, et che el Re se sia offerto di farmelo expedire per quella via a me pare: questa via del Papa è più breve et più berta; harete la nota della età, et altre conditioni di Julio, et v'ingegnerete farla expedire, et facto questo, mi resta pensare a poco della famiglia mia, perchè quasi tucti sono accorsi. Non manchate della diligentia vostra in questa cosa, poichè se è offerta questa ventura a questo fanciullo, &c.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

Florentiæ, die xviii. Augusti, hora iii.

No. XV.

(Page 38.)

*Ex monumentis Ang. Fabronii ad vitam Laur. Med.**Guidoni Priori Angelorum.*

PERSUADEO mihi non deesse isthic, qui diligentissime tibi renuncient, quæ de die in diem circa nos gerantur. Ex quo enim Florentia profecti sumus significatum fuisse quotidianis nunciis et cursoribus scio Magnifico Laurentio progressum itineris filii sui, unde et tu identidem certior fieri potuisti. Quamobrem factum est, ut tardius hac de re ad te scribam. Quoniam vero quæ nobis grata sunt, etiam sæpius repetita non displicent, et ego in perpetuo fere comitatu atque obsequio colendissimi Cardinalis ad hanc usque diem fui, complectar summam quæ relatu digna mihi succurrerint, ne defuisse penitus et officio meo et desiderio tuo videar. Igitur duodecima, ut nosti, Martii mensis die, hora, sicut edictum fuerat, sextadecima, conscensis iumentis egressus est Florentia Dominus Reverendissimus cum familia sua, precedentibus illum civibus spectabili pompa, qui ad duo millia passuum ipsum deduxerunt; redire in urbem jussis, post salutationem mutuam cardinalis eo die cum maiore parte familiæ ad Abbatiam suam Passignani divertit. Nos vero et alii Podibontium pervenimus. Sequenti die, remorante illo animi gratia in suo monasterio, præcessimus Senas, moniti, ut ibidem præstolaremur adventum ejus. Hora circiter vigesima occurrimus ei ad secundum extra urbem lapidem. Si hic referre particulatim voluero, quo fuerit honore a Senensibus Cardinalis noster exceptus, qua totius urbis congratulatione, quibus delitiis, non sufficit dies. Occurrit extra urbem civium primariorum turba, occurrit et omnis populus. Et ne cuique præsto esset occasio continendi se domi, publico edicto imperatum est, ut universæ urbis tabernæ occluderentur. Advenisse Pontificem summum crederes, ita commota est universa civitas.

Hæc sane Cardinali exhibita reverentia, pietas, fides adeo satis omnibus fecit, ut nemo Senis non contentus abierit. Sextadecima die inde movimus omnes, pransique ad Bon-conventum, vesperi ad S. Quiricum pervenimus. Die insequenti ad Paleam accepti ad prandium sumus; et hucusque Senensium sumptibus semper hospitati. Ad Aquam Pendentem Ecclesiæ oppidum nocte requievimus. Mane profecti complures Prelati, nosque itidem Viterbium applicuimus, retento in medio itinere ab Ursinis propinquis suis Cardinali colendissimo. Invenimus Viterbii Pontificis filium, sororis cardinalis maritum, ipsius adventum præstolantem. Postera die Cardinali occurrimus, et cum eo Viterbium ingressi sumus. Inde discedentes sequenti die, vesperi Bratianum Ursinorum oppidum divertimus. Excepti ibidem sumus apparatu regio in palatium Virginii comitis, qui magna equitum turma venerat obviam nobis ad octo millia passuum. Alterum diem Bratiani peregrimus, et quidem maximo omnium commodo. Tandem novissimo itineris nostri die, undecimo scilicet Kalendis Aprilis, Romam ingressi sumus, occurrentibus nunc his nunc illis in via ad deducendum Cardinalem, nulla pluviarum vi, quæ magna tunc erumpebat, illos morante, quin officioso muneri satisfacerent. Ad primam urbis portam secessit Cardinalis cum paucis in monasterium S. Mariæ in Populo. Mane sequentis diei convenerunt eo Cardinales omnes et nimboso quidem cœlo, deduxeruntque illum ad Pontificem in Consistorium publicum. Exceptus est ad osculum a Pontifice, atque ab omnibus deinceps Cardinalibus, sicuti et nos facere consuevimus, cum aliquem ad Religionem admittimus. Singuli quoque de Cardinalis familia deosculari ibidem Summi Pontificis pedes. Reduntem domum, universa illum comitante curia, sicuti moris est, perpetua non deseruit atque ingens pluvia. Vix enim egressi eramus palatium Pontificis, cum subito adeo largum obductæ cœlo nubes excussere imbrem ut torrentis more effusus non modo nos madefecerit, verum pene totos obruerit. Sequentibus diebus visitavit Cardinalis Pontificem; visitavit Cardinales singulos domi. Hoc peracto visitationis officio, visitatus est et ipse vicissim domi a Cardinalibus omnibus,

sicuti moris est. Absoluta est heri demum hæc mutua visitatio. Ceterum ut de ipso Cardinali aliquid tibi gratius conscribam, scias eum satisfacisse omnibus præter multorum expectationem; qui se puerulum visuros putaverant, non tam presentia corporali et proceriore, quam pro ætate statura, quam morum in primis gravitate, et sermone in omnibus maxime accommodato. Ceremoniis cardinalatus, quantum ego animadvertere et domi et foris potui, adeo apte et decenter utitur, ut in iis per annos multos versatum fuisse facile crederes. Humanitate quoque et affabilitate peditum, quotidie palam experimur. Verum de hoc alias. Quantite faciat colendissimus Protector noster, et quam grate audierit secum de te loquentem, ipsius ad te litteræ indicabunt; et ego coram, ubi permiserit Dominus, plenius referam. Commendo tibi nostra isthic negotia, quæ nosti. Sumus hic in obsequio Reverendissimi Cardinalis Medicis minus certe apti et idonei, sed voluntarii, sed fideles. Ora pro felici et incolumi tum ipsius, tum nostro reditu: et nos, cum opportunum tibi fuerit, clarissimo viro Laurentio commenda. Tumultuario stilo, ac currenti calamo hæc modo ad te conscripsi, quoniam re vera parum nobis ocii superest. Siquid barbare dictum invenies, excusationem admittes. Vale.

Ex Urbe, die vii. Aprilis, 1492.

No. XVI.

(Page 39.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Reipub. Florent.

*Magnifico Viro Laurentio de Medicis Patri optimo.
Florentiæ.*

SALVUS sis. Se e non vi havessi * * * * (*mancante*) dare adviso di qualche cosa. Io Venerdì mattina fui ricevuto in publico, accompagnato da S. M. dal Popolo insino a palazzo, e da palazzo in fino in Campo di Fiore da tucti questi Car-

dinali, et da quasi tucta la Corte, et da una grande piova. Eui visto da Nostro Signore molto gratiosamente; non gli parlai quasi niente: el dì sequente li Oratori visitarono Nostro Signore; hebbono gratissima audientia. El Papa mi riservò il dì sequente per udirmi, che è hoggi; sonvi ito, et la S. Stà. mi ha parlato tanto amorevolmente, quanto è possibile; hami ricordato, et confortato a fare qualche cosa in queste visitationi de' Cardinali, che le ho cominciate a fare in questi che ho visitati; che tucti che vi scriverò un' altra volta chi sono; dimostrano molto di esser volti benissimo verso voi. Delle cose passate so ne siete suta advisato. Di me non ho da dirvi altro, se non che io mi sforzerò di farvi honore. De me proloqui ulterius, nefas. Io ho havuto molto caro l'advise del vostro stare molto meglio; et non ho altro desiderio, se non di sentirlo spesso, et di questo per insino a hora ne ringratio Ser Piero. Io mi raccomando a voi. Non altro.

Jo. FILIUS.

Romæ, die xxv. Martii, 1492.

No. XVII.

(Page 68.)

Dall' Opere volgare del Cariteo.

CANZONE.

ALZA la testa al polo
 Ardire; et forza prende anima lieve,
 Et l' amoroso stilo homai depone.
 Un'altra via si deve
 Tentar: per dande io possa alzarmi a volo,
 E scriver il mio nome in Helicone.
 Rimembra dal principio la cagione,
 Perche venne in Italia dalla Iberia
 Di Goti la progenie più che humana.
 Tu Musa Antiniana,
 Comincia un suon conforme a la materia.

Et voi O Nymphe piene
 D' Apollo, che colete l' alta Hesperia,
 Cantate hor meco ; et voi dolci Sirene,
 Dite di ciò che sempre vi sovienne.
 L' alma formata in cielo,
 Da l' alma Creator de la natura,
 Ogni cosa nel ciel chiaro comprende.
 Che la substantia pura,
 Separata dal nostro ombroso velo,
 Quanto si fa la sù vede et intende.
 Ma poi che per destin qua giù discende ;
 Et per necessità d' alcuna stella,
 Se'nvolve nelle humane et gravi membra,
 Di nulla si rimembra ;
 Poi, se del suo fattor non è ribella,
 Ricovra la memoria
 De l' alta opra del cielo ornata e bella,
 Et si ricorda de l' eterna gloria ;
 Pur com' huom d' una udita o letta historia.
 Così quest' alma humile,
 Che mentre piace al ciel mi tiene in vita,
 Hebbe sua parte ancor del ben celeste ;
 Ma poi che fu impedita
 Di mille errori, et data al piacer vile,
 Quell' opre di lassù le fur moleste.
 Poi dispregiando la terrena veste,
 Per fuggir di prigion si mese l' ale ;
 Et tenendo per mezzo il suo camino,
 Del Palazzo divino
 Cominciò ricordarsi, et come et quale
 Era quello ch' udiva
 In quel sidereo et alto tribunale :
 Da quella voce eternamente viva
 Da cui ogni eloquentia alta deriva.
 Tra gli altri un dì per sorte,
 L' unico Padre et Dio d' huomini et divi,
 Che temprava col suo grave superciglio
 Foco, aria, terra, e i rivi,

Aprendosi d' Olympto l' auree porte,
 Convocò gli altri Dei nel suo consiglio.
 Sedendosi da la man dextra il figlio
 Et volitando Amor per ogni parte,
 Chiaramente li vidi insieme unire :
 Come, nol posso dire,
 Che non è cosa de explicare in charte.
 La mente intende il vero :
 Ma la lingua mortal non ha tant' arte.
 Li tre perfetti in un perfetto intero
 Vidi congiunti : et rivederlo spero.
 Dunque quel Padre eterno,
 Parlando in piedi cominciò levarsi,
 Et lui dicendo, ogn'un degli altri tacque.
 Vidi il vento acquetarsi,
 Tremar la terra insino al imo inferno,
 Ove Pluton pien di superbia giacque,
 Et fermarsi del mar le placide acque.
 Cittadine del cielo, Alme preclare,
 Udite attenti il suon di mie parole.
 Sotto la luna e'l sole
 Mirando quanto cinge il salso mare,
 Et quanto in terra giace ;
 Nulla cosa più bella almondo appare,
 Ne più felice, e lieta, e più ferace,
 Ch' Italia degna di perpetua pace.
 Ma parte delle genti
 Che sempre fur discordi et inquiete,
 A sua felicità contrarie trovo.
 Più giù gli occhi volgete,
 In quella parte ove si stan le menti
 Quete senza cercare imperio novo.
 Mova vi la pietà perch' iò mi movo :
 Dando favore a quell' alma cittate,
 Ove religion tanto si honora ;
 Ove si vede ogn'hora,
 Più chiaro il sol che per l'altre contrate.
 Ivi temprando il raggio,

Fa assidua primavera, et dolce estate.
Ivi sempre son fior, non che nel maggio;
Ivi nasce ogni ingegno acuto e saggio.
Una Nympha sepolta
Si ritrovò nel placido paese,
Ove visse, et lassò le belle spoglie.
Et d'ella il nome prese
La Città: nella qual cantò una volta
Quel ch' a gli altri Latin la gloria toglie.
Ogni vertute unita si raccoglie
In quel luogo gentil, salubre, amico
Di Nymphe e di Poete, e proprio hospitio;
Ne gli huomini giudicio
Grave, e sottile; in donne il cor pudico
Si vede, et d' honor degno.
Togliasi dunque homai dal sceptro antico
Ch' abhorrente di pace have l'ingegno
Et la Gotica sterpe prenda il regno.

A questo ultimo accento

Le menti delli divi alte et profonde
Restaron murmurando in vario assenso.
Si come in mezzo l'onde
Si suol sentire il suon del primo vento,
Che di nocchieri il cor fa star sospenso.
Ma chi può contradire al Padre immenso,
Che con giusta ragion sempre si move?
Dunque gli dei che forse eran discordi,
Si monstraron concordi,
Conoscendo il voler del sommo Giove;
Il qual nel suo conspetto
Si fe venir de l'anime più nove,
Et più tranquille, un bel numero eletto,
Et diede un tal parlar dal sacro petto.

Ite voi felici Alme,

Vestitevi di Regie membra humane,
Non di materia di volgare schiera;
Prendete in vostre mane
Le gloriose et honorate palme:

Ite ad godere il regno che vi spera.
 Et tu che prima ti dimostri altera,
 Et sei per sorte prossima a la luce,
 Sarai lo primo ALFONSO in quella terra.
 Per te la cruda guerra
 Sarà conversa in pace, et sarai duce
 Di gloria e di vertute.
 Regnarai longo tempo, essendo luce
 Di ciechi, et de li languidi salute;
 Facendo alto parlar le lingue mute.
 Subito poi di questo
 Regnarai, tu fortissimo, animoso,
 Del Aragonia gente eterno honore.
 Et se 'nanzi al riposo
 S' apparecchia travaglio assai molesto,
 Sarai pur finalmente vincitore.
 Contr' al crudel barbarico furore
 Tu starai salda inespugnabil torre;
 Tal ch' al udir del tuo famoso nome,
 Staranno hirte le chiome
 Del gran nemico mio che'l cielo abhorre.
 Et se prende ardir tanto
 Che voglia di tua man l' imperio torre,
 Io' l farò gir nel sempiterno piantò,
 Del tribunal del Gnosio Rhadamanto.
 Tu sèi quel ch'ode spesso
 Parthenope, che dei scender volando
 Adornato de palma, oliva, et lauro;
 Tu sei quel gran FERRANDO,
 Da noi tante fiate a lei promesso,
 Per dare al suo valor presto ristauero.
 Per te dee rinovare un secol d' auro,
 Qual per campi et città del regio Latio
 In tempo di Saturno andar soleva.
 Per te già si subleva
 La vertu prisca, et fa di vitii stratio:
 Jano tanto laudato
 Che vide inanzi e dietro in breve spatío,

Di tua prudentia vinto et superato,
Si potrà contentar sol del passato.
Le porte del suo templo,
Che soglion per la pace esser serrate,
Per tuo volere aprir non soffrirai.
Ma però ch' invidiate
Son le vertu de cui sarai l' esempio,
Nol potranno i vicin pater giamai.
Così strage mortal venir vedrai
De la guerra civile et intestina ;
Mossa di quel Soldan nocente et vario,
Manifesto adversario
Di gente singulare et pellegrina.
Costui con voglia accesa,
Sotto color de fare opra divina,
Contr' al imperio tuo pigliarà impresa ;
La qual con la mia man sarà difesa.
Ch' alhor la providentia
Volando al cor del principe Romano,
Chiamarà per la pace un santo et puro
Et nitido PONTANO,
Che vincerà con la dolce eloquentia
Ogn'animo feroce, acerbo, et duro.
Costui ponendo lume al petto oscuro
Del promotor d' horribili tumulti,
Unirà insieme gli animi diversi.
Quest' è quel che con versi
Di grandiloquo stil sonori et culti,
Et con ornate prose
Rimembrerà dal cielo i varii vulti ;
Poi discendendo nelle humane cose,
Dirà le tue virtù chiare et famose.
Ne mancaranno ingegni
Imitator di questo altro Vergilio
Nel regno che t' aspetta sempre et brama.
SANNAZAR, PARDO, ALTILIO,
SUMMONTIO, di corymbo et laurea degni,
Faran cantando eterna la tua fama.

Tu che sai ben come la gloria s'ama,
Temprerai con amor la signoria ;
Et con beneficentia et con giustitia,
Fuggendo l' amicitia
D'assentator, che vendon la bugia,
Et con atti soavi,
Al popol di ben far darai la via ;
Ornando 'l di costumi honesti et gravi,
Et con leggi emendando i modi pravi.
Con più tranquilla vista
Mira quell' alme in muliebre gonna,
Ambedue caste et belle, ambe leggiadre.
Questa primiera Donna,
Benchè mostre la fronte mesta et trista,
Ti farà pur contento et lieto padre.
Questa sarà feconda altera madre
Di Re, d' Imperatori, et di Regine.
Nascer vedrai di questa alta et felice
Fruttifera radice
Multi piante gentili et pellegrine.
Et poi che sia arrivata,
Come nave nel portò, al suo bel fine,
Dal cieco carcer sciolta et liberata,
Ritornarà qua sù lieta et beata.
L' altra che vien dapoi
Ch' ella haverà lasciato il corpo exangue,
Sarà per tua consorte amata et cara ;
Di nobiltà di sangue
Et d' antiqua virtù giunta con voi.
Portarà teco il sceptro et la tiara.
Mira la vera forma ove s' impara
Come con castità beltà s' aduna,
Più ch' en donna d' honore et gloria degna,
Costei dolce, benegna,
Morigera, fidel, non importuna,
Ti da certa speranza
Di bella prole, et prospera fortuna.
Da costei nascerà quella sembianza

Dela beltà del ciel, che l'altre avanza.
Volgi indietro, et riguarda
Quell' anima dignissima d' imperio
Del tuo secondo ALFONZO, altro Gradivo ;
Il qual nel regno Hesperio

Un cometa ch' a voi vittoria mostra,
A la Francese indomita barbarie
Exitio et pesti varie ?
D' animo più viril la casa vostra
Non fia mai che si vante.
Questo in battaglia, et in palestra, et giostra,
In lettere, et in opre humane et sante,
Sempre si mostrerà forte et costante.
Vuò che qui si conserbe
La gloriosa sterpe de' li Goti
Con anime migliori et più perfette.
Li figli et li nepoti
Regnaran sempre, et le genti superbe
Domaran, perdonando a le soggette.
Tacque dipoi queste parole dette,
Il Rettor del Olympo ; alhor li Fati
Benigni, con le prospere fortune,
Fur d'un voler commune.
Al suo parlar con volti chiari, et grati,
Ogn'un consente et fave ;
Si come usar si suol ne' i gran senati,
Che parlando chi solo il poder have,
Il minor volgo applaude insieme et pave.
Due porte sono in quel celeste albergo,
D'eterno bene et di letitia pieno ;
L'una d'un negro et solido metallo ;
L'altra d' un bel crystallo.
Questa n' adduce il dì lieto et sereno,
Quella la notte ombrosa.
Dunque il Re che del mondo tene il freno,
Per la porta più chiara et luminosa
Uscir fe quella schiera alta et famosa.

No. XVIII.

(Page 81.)

Tratto da Testo a penna di Fillenio Gallo.

SONETTO.

Phylenio al mandato libro.

LIBRETTO et versi miei humili et bassi ;
 Rime silvestre et di dolcezza prive ;
 Composte al suon de le fresche acque vive,
 Fra fiere, sterpi, herbe, ucelli et sassi ;
 Andate al mio Signor con prompti passi,
 Che fra molti mortali, immortal vive,
 Et dimonstrate come in queste rive,
 Phylen, per lui servir parato stassi,
 Et se tal opera ad lui fusse dischara,
 Direte che ogni rivo, quasi asciutto,
 Fangho produce ognihor, non acqua chiara.
 Pur una casa mi conforta in tutto,
 Che se la pianta (benche vil) fie cara,
 Non debba con ragion sdegnare il frutto.

SONETTO.

Phylenio narra che Madonna gli parla in sogno.

NEL dolce sonno, alhor che i spirti e polsi
 Son più leggieri, trovammi in seccho prato,
 Pensoso e mesto : ed eccho al dextro lato
 Venir Madonna mia ; onde io mi volsi,
 E tremebundo una parola sciolsi,
 “ Che fai tu quì ? ” a che con volto irato
 Nulla rispose, e'l capo havia chinato,
 A guisa de hom che offende, teme, e duolsi.

Caminava ella, ed io seguia el passo
 Miser piangendo, e lei senza voltarse
 Disse mi, "Indegno! a che pur prieghi un sasso?"
 Qui tacque; hor pensa s'el miser cor arse;
 Trovammì el pecto un fonte, e'l corpo lasso;
 Quando, a un tracto, e'l sonno e lei disparsè.

SONETTO.

Phylenio scrive nullo accepto haver grato senza Madonna.

QUANDO nel bel paese ov' io son nato,
 Fra parenti e amici arrivai sano:
 Questo m' abbraccia, e quel toccha la mano,
 Ciascun d' intorno a dir, sia'l ben tornato;
 Chi m' accarezza, e chi si mostra grato,
 L' un benigno a me fassi, e l' altro humano;
 Ayme! gli è ver, che honor e robba è in vano;
 Ma contentarsi sol fa l' hom beato.
 Guardavo spesso fra la turba intorno,
 E non vedendo el bel Saphyr lucente,
 Amar m'è stato ogni più lieto giorno.
 Se non ch' io v' avia sculpta nella mente
 Saria già morto avanti el mio ritorno,
 Ne mi potea campar robba o parente.

SONETTO.

Phylenio biasma el viver longamente al Mondo.

LAUDA el vulgo insensato, e pien d' errore,
 In questa vita numerar molti anni;
 Ma non discerne ben quant' aspri affanni,
 E guai, trapassa chi in vecchiezza more.
 Felice è quel che escie del carcer fore
 Prima che molti el pelo, e stracci e panni;
 Che chi compera ben l'acquisto a i danni
 Trova corto el piacer, longho el dolore.

Io el provo, e so che'l ciel s'ì mi nutricha
 Ch'io porto invidia a che è morto in culla;
 Che stando el pesce in rete ogn'hor più intricha.
 O quanto chi più spera in van trastulla,
 E cautamente el serpe in sen nutricha.
 Poi nel fin l'error cresce, e'l gaudio è nulla.

No. XIX.

(Page 105.)

Nestoris Dionysii Novariensis ordinis Minorum de observantia, ad Illustrissimum principem Lodovicum Sphortiam, in Opus ejus excellentiæ dicatum, versus incipit.

ANGUIGER hunc princeps, tu qui auxiliaribus armis
 Tutor ades Domino Mutinæ, Lodovice, libellum
 Accipe; quem tota tibi Nestor, mente dicavi.
 Strenuus ut bellis, sic donis ipse Minervæ
 Ingenioque valens, quando tibi quid vacat otî,
 Hunc legito, hoc curas post ardua gesta levato.
 Ardua gesta loquor, quîs toto partus in orbe
 Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.
 Rebus nempe suis socium petit Itala tellus;
 Imprimis Xystus divus, summusque sacerdos,
 Te quoque Parthenopes Rex, Hetruscusque senatus,
 Dux Mutinæque socer, fluviique Bononia Rheni.
 Gaudet et ipsa tibi juncta esse Sabaudia, et urbis
 Inclytus ipse novæ princeps, et classe superba
 Metropolis Ligurum; promptum teque excit in arma
 Pro Socero, invicti magnum qui nomen adeptus
 Herculis, invisos, te præside, conteret ausus
 Hostis, et Italiæ dabis aurea tempora pacis.
 Si quibus Ausoniis fama immortalis avorum est,
 Principibus parti si sunt virtute triumphî,
 Ante alios leget ipsa tuos hæc, posteraque ætas.
 Ipse canet pugnas vates, et fortia dicet
 Prælia, teque, tuasque sonabit carmine palmas.

Perge igitur ; superosque habeas ad vota secundos,
 Dî tibi dent gazas Arabum, dent Nestoris annos,
 Fortunam Augusti, et sceptrâ imperiosa Monarchæ;
 Armatasque meo hoc firmes sermone catervas.
 Hecorei socii mecum durate sub armis.
 Sacra etenim (si fas tamen est) per numina juro,
 Stamina si geminos Lachesis mihi nêrit in annos
 Imperitanti, hostes cogam stricto ense subactos
 Lingere humum coram, et sæva præ strage dare herbas.
 Tunc omnes spoliis, tunc et fulgentibus armis,
 Electis pariter et equis, opibusque superbis
 Donabo ; ac magno (durate age) semper honore.
 Hinc bellis, picta inde jocis, fulvisque micanti
 (Dona ubi pensa) tholis, mecum dignabor in aula.
 Jamque vale ; studioque vacet mens alta salubri ;
 Aspiresque tuo, Princeps clarissime, vati,
 Fratrum apud Excelsum precibus servande meorum.

No. XX.

(Page 108.)

Ad Galeatium Bentivolum, de imagine Codri.

DITIBUS in thalamis quos tu, clarissime Princeps,
 Ornasti vivis nuper imaginibus,
 Me quoque jussisti sapientum vivere cœtu,
 Et meditabundo dicta notare statu.
 Me noscunt, plauduntque mihi quicunque tuentur,
 Inventumque probant, vir memorande, tuum.
 Ast ego quid contrâ faciam ? quæ dona rependam ?
 Quod dignum tanto munere munus erit ?
 Si vatum nunquam pereunt monumenta piorum,
 Si rapiunt Stygia, quos voluere domo,
 Tu quoque de nostris semper cantabere chartis,
 Deque meo semper carmine vivus eris.
 Bentivolus mihi carmen erit Galeatius ille,
 Cui similem non fert Ausonis ora virum.

Pe mea te noscent brachati carmina Medi,
 Per mea te noscet carmina foris Iber.
 Et Notus et Boreas gaudebunt nomina tanti
 Principis in populos missa fuisse suos.
 Mille canes alii quæerunt, totidemque biformes
 Mulas, tu claros quæris habere viros:
 Quæritos et habes, et scis retinere paratos
 Muneribusque tuis, ingenioque tuo.
 Ille inhiat gemmas, atque auro congerit aurum
 Pauper, et assiduo stat vigil usque metu.
 Tu tua firma locas in amicis horrea fidis,
 Atque tuas illos esse fateris opes:
 Tu sequeris prudens hominum vestigia, at ille
 Stultus de stulto carpere discit iter.
 Nil igitur mirum si te fratresque paterque
 Laudant, et de te gaudia magna ferunt.
 Nec mirum, si præcipuè te stipat euntem,
 Qui valet arte aliqua, qui valet ingenio.
 Tu certe tanquam sis funis Homericus ille,
 Aureus e cœlo missus in arva nites:
 Aut tanquam Phœbo cum descendente, coruscum
 Hesperus ardenti spargit ab ore jubar.
 Obruitur Codrus tanto, clarissime Princeps,
 Splendore, & cœco lumine tentat iter.
 Aut Jovis, aut Phœbi rutilantis lumen habendum est.
 Codre, tui si vis cernere facta Ducis:
 Aut alio flectenda acies, ne more volantis
 Pyraustæ in magnam lampada forte ruas.

 No. XXI.

(Page 112.)

Petri Criniti, de sua ægitudine et imminente obitu.

NIL est quod ultra sit licitum mihi
 Sperare tandem, nil medicæ manus
 Ex imminente ne miserum rogo
 Referre incolumem queunt.

Et jam medullis æstuat intimis
Accensa bilis, nec patitur meo
Unquam dolori finem aliquem dari,
Sed vexat magis in dies.

Obducta frontis lumina, per genas
Delapsa tetra cum macie cutis,
Et destitutæ mentis inertia,
Instare exitium monent.

O quantum inanes illecebræ anxia
Passim virorum pectora distrahunt!
Quantaque rerum mole peræstuat
Humani generis lues!

Quam sæpe dixit, Martia principum
Cantabo gesta, et sæva per Ausones
Gallorum ab altis alpibus agmina
Educta in Latios duces!

At nunc parato funere frigidus
Per membra sudor labitur: et meum
Flammis cadaver rite puer sacris
Jam componere destinat.

Et Cypri odores, thuraque mascula
Inferre lectis ossibus, et levi
Cum rore lymphas spargere, quo sua
Reddatur cineri quies.

Ergo sub annos prævirides mihi
Solvetur atro sanguine spiritus?
Nil est reluctandum superis; libens
Quod fata annuerint sequor.

Non ille cuiquam flebilis occidit,
Quem vitæ honestas, et fidei decor
Inter sacrarunt numina Cælitum,
Expertem gravis ambitus.

Sed fessa tandem lumina mors tegit:
Tu me, Deorum summe Parens, velis
Vatem beatis sistere sedibus,
Ut sacros referam choros.

No. XXII.

(Page 125.)

*Ex Orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Magnifico Viro Petro de Medicis, fratri meo carissimo.
Florentiæ.*

MAGNIFICE frater, &c. Per questa poco m' accade se non significarti, che sono sano, quale in tanto vulnere decet; paulatim tamen me ex dolore, quantum in me est, colligo. Sed hæc missa, ne vulnus exacerbem. Ho alcune tua, per le quali intendo l'animo et la voglia tua. Nil eorum, quæ petis, adhuc factum est; terroti tamen avvisato del processo di tutto d' hora in hora. Così di questo, come d' ogni altra mia cosa, fa anche tu quello medesimo; che non posso havere cosa più grata, che intendere spesso di voi nuove, et come stiate tutti; sicchè non t' incresca tenermene avisato. Questo voglio aggiugnere, che intendendo, che forse s' harà a mutare el Proposto Di San Giovanni, ti voglio raccomandare Ser Francesco della Torre, quale è stato per me uno pezzo a Miramondo, et essi portato molto bene; et credo questo sarà proprio un luogo da lui, sicchè te lo raccomando. Preterea bisogna che io ti raccomandi Francesco degli Albizi, che desiderebbe che tu lo facessi sedere Gonfaloniere questo Maggio: faramene piacere facendolo, perchè ho quà uno suo figliuolo, che mi serve bene: volendolo fare, ti prego, gli facci intendere, te lo raccomandato, di che me ne rimetto a te. Per altra mia ti scriverò qualche cosa: per hora basti quello ti scrivono gl' Imbasciatori, et questo. Raccomandomi a te, et saluta tutta la brigata per mia parte, conteregli tutti, se non che el foglio non basterebbe. Non altro.

TUUS IO. FR.

Romæ, die xix. Aprilis, 1492.

No. XXIII.

(Page 125.)

*Ex Orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Florent.**Magnifico Viro Petro de Medicis, majori meo observandissimo. Florentiæ.*

MAGNIFICO Piero mio hon. Questa mattina essendo invitati li Cardinali all' officio, et Messa in cappella per la benedictione delle palme; congregati, che furono tutti, et ante Missarum solemniam, Nostro Signore li chiamò dentro nella audientia sua secreta, et quivi presente tutto il Collegio pubblicò, et dichiarò Monsre. vostro Fratello Legato del Patrimonio; nè vi potrei dire quanto è stata grata questa demonstratione a tutta questa Corte, et Città. Dipoi Nostro Signore andò in Cappella, et benedisse le palme, et celebrò una Messa; la quale finita, Monsre. nostro Rmo. partì, et fu accompagnato da tutto il Collegio insino a casa, con grandissimo honore, et fu cosa bella a vedere. Giunta arrivò quì hiera, lui et Mariotto, et si raccomanda alla M. V. et io insieme. Bene vale.

Romæ, die xv. Aprilis, 1492.

Erami scordato di dirvi, come Nostro Signore stamani era fresco et bello come una rosa, et ha dato il mal' anno a più d'uno. Non sarà fuori di proposito, che voi confortiate Monsre. a curare con ogni diligentia di stare sano, et voglia al più che può, d'accomodarsi al vivere secondo che fanno li altri Cardinali. Questo dico, perchè bisogna levarsi la mattina per tempo, et chi vegghia la sera, assai male lo può fare: Sarà pericolo col tempo non li facessi nocimento; questo non dico senza cagione.

SERV. STEPHANUS DE CASTROCARO.

No. XXIV.

(Page 150.)

*Acta Eruditorum, an. 1710, p. 18.**Historie de Bretagne.**Auct. Guidone Alexio Lobineau. ii. Tomes. Par. 1707, Fo.*

SED facere non possumus, quin ad nuptias, quas Anna Britannica in qua linea Ducalis defecit, primum cum Maximiliano Romanorum, et mox, eo quidem adhuc vivo, cum Carolo Gallorum rege contraxit, paulisper subsistamus.

Sunt autem in hac historia duæ quæstiones facti, a quibus totius causæ justitia dependet, quarum prior est—*An Maximilianus matrimonium cum Anna contractum consummaverit?* Posterior—*An hæc Sponsa vel Uxor Maximiliani a Carolo Gallorum rege (viii) rapta fuerit?*

Quod prius concernit, Autor non negat, nuptias cum Maximiliano A. 1490, sollemnissime, sed per procuratores saltem, fuisse consummatas: *Legatum autem primarium postquam nova nupta in thalamo fuisset collocata, cubiculum cum literis procurationis ingressum, et astantibus multis tam viris quam foeminis primariis, tibiam suam ad genu usque nudatam, inter lintea nuptialia inseruisse, ut cæremonia illa consummationi et cognitioni actugli æquipellere putaretur.* Ipse quidem autor non affirmat, mentionem tamen, velut in transitu, injicit, quod Baco de Verulamio in vita Henrici VII. singulare hoc rei gestæ monumentum annotaverit; neque quicquam præterea addit, ex quo Verulamii relatio vel confirmari vel in dubium vocari queat. Ad alteram quæestionem quod attinet, si bene Autorem nostrum assecuti sumus, inter coactionem physicam, et politicam distinguere videtur. Nempe de crassa illa violentia, qua Anna, cum iter ad Maximilianum jam esset ingressa, in finibus Hannoveriæ ab armata multitudine circumventa, et obtorto velut collo ad Carolum raptata, rerum Austriacarum scriptoribus

quibusdam dicitur, altum in hoc opere est silentium——
Sed coactionem tamen subtilem intercessisse, adeo non inficiatur Lobinovius, ut etiam suspicetur, Pontificem Romanum non sine causa consensum suum in literis, quarum copiam facit, sub hac conditione declarasse: *dummodo illustrissima Anna propter hoc rapta non fuerit.*

Ceterum, quod tum optasse dicitur Maximilianus, *ut ex hoc monstro nuptiarum, quod ex raptu et adulterio compositum esset, nulla unquam in Gallia regnet posteritas, ejus voti damnatum fuisse Imperatorem, ex tabulis Genealogicis in vulgus notum est.*

No. XXV.

(Page 162.)

Dall' Opere volgari di Cariteo.

CANZONE.

FULGORE eterno, & gloria d' Aragona,
 Heroe grande in fama, in arme ingente,
 Fautor sol, anzi autor d'ogni vertute ;
 Hor t' ha condotto a la real corona
 La potestà de la divina mente,
 Per conservarne in pace, & in salute.
 Hor piace servitute
 A tutti quei ch'han libertade in pregio.
 Per te, Re pio, magnanimo, & perfetto,
 Et per natura, & per ragione eletto,
 La libertade honora il nome Regio.
 Che tue virtù pensando & ripensando,
 Avegna che non fussi il primo figlio
 Di quel divo FERRANDO,
 Saresti Re, s' al mondo è buon consiglio.
 Lo strenuo cor, clemente, altero, & saggio,
 Che dal un sole al altro il nome spande,
 In aspettatione ha posto il mondo ;

Come costui, intrepido, animoso,
 Vinse del cielo gli nemici rei ;
 Poi venne glorioso ;
 Carco d'honor, d'exuvie & di trophèi.
 Hor altrui t' apparecchia un' altra gloria,
 Se cerca provocar i Galli adversi
 A la quiete Italica imminenti ;
 O tu riporterai lieta vittoria,
 O tu unirai in pace i cor diversi ;
 Come natura accorda gli elementi,
 Si varii & differenti.
 Chi non ritenerasi intro le porte,
 Vedendo un Re, degnissimo d' imperio,
 Regnar nel Regno Hesperio ?
 Vedendo un nova Duca invitto & forte,
 In forza & gagliardia altro Pelide,
 In arme & in amor novo Gradivo,
 Quel mio Aragonio Alcide
 Di cui l' inclyta fama io canto e scrivo.
 Ne le sideree sedi
 Volando, andrai Canzon con bianche penne ;
 Di quella verità che ti conduce
 Vedrai vi d' Aragon la nova luce :
 Ch' è ritornata in cielo ond 'ella venne.
 Digli che con ragion può rallegrarsi,
 D' haver sua parte nei celesti regni.
 Ma più dee gloriarsi
 Di veder in honor, suoi dolci pegni.

No. XXVI.

(Page 167.)

Dall' Opere Volgari di Sanazzaro, p. 60.

CANZONE.

INCLITI spirti, a cui fortuna arride
Quasi benigna, e lieta,
Per farvi al cominciar veloci, e pronti ;
Ecco, che la sua torbida inquieta
Rota per che vi affide,
E vi spiani dinanzi e fossi, e monti,
Ecco, ch' a vostre fronti
Lusingando promette or quercia, or lauro ;
Pur ch' al suo temerario ardir vi accorde.
Ahi menti cieche e sorde
De' miseri mortali ; ahi mal nat' auro ;
Qual mai degno restauro
Esser può di quel sangue
Del qual la terra già bagnata suda ?
E della schiera esangue,
Ch' erra senza sepolcri afflitta, e nuda ?
Voi, che sempre fuggendo il vulgo sciocco,
E'l suo perverso errore,
Tutte le antiche carte avete volte ;
Se racquistar cercate in vita onore,
E per coturno, o socco
Sperate d' illustrar l' ossa sepolte,
Acciochè il mondo ascolte
Vostri nomi, più bei dopo mill'anni,
Drizzate al ver cammin gli alti consigli :
E, come giusti figli
Il vecchio padre, ch' or sospira i danni,
Liberate d' affanni :
Che se mai pregio eterno
Per ben far s' acquistò con lode e gloria,

Questo (s' io ben discerno)
Farà di voi qua giù lunga memoria.
Or, che'l vento v' aspira ; e vostra nave
Ha saldi arbori e sarte,
Sarebbe il tempo da ritrarvi in porto ;
Che poi, lasso, non val l' ingegno, o l' arte
Nella tempesta grave ;
Quando'l miser nocchier già stanco, e smorto,
Non trova altro conforto
Che di voltarsi a Dio con umil pianto,
Lodando l' ozio, e la tranquilla vita.
Dunque, se'l ciel v' invita
Ad un viver sicuro, onesto, e santo,
Non v' induri il cor tanto
L' odio, lo sdegno, e l' ira ;
Ch' al ben proprio veder vi appanne gli occhi ;
Che spesso in van sospira
Chi per sua colpa avvien ch' al fin trabocchi.
Rare fiate il Ciel le cagion giuste
Indifese abbandona :
Benchè forza a ragion talor contrasti.
Indi (se'l ver per fama ancor risuona)
Le sue mura combuste
Vide al fin Troja, e i tempj rotti, e guasti,
E tanti spirti casti
Per uno incesto a ferro e a foco messi :
Nè questa sol, ma mille altre vendette
Ch' avete udite, e lette ;
Popoli alteri al fin pur tutti oppressi.
Deh questo or fra voi stessi
(Ma con più fausto inizio)
Signor, pensate ; e se ragion vi danna,
Non vogliate col vizio
Andar contra virtù ; che error v' inganna.
L' alto, e giusto Motor, che tutto vede,
E con eterna legge
Tempra le umane, e le divine cose,
Siccome ei sol là su governa e regge,

E solo in alto siede
Fra quelle anime elette, e luminose,
Così qua giù propose
Chi de' mortali avesse in mano il freno :
Che mal senza rettor si guida barca.
Però con l' alma scarca
Di sospetto, e di sdegni, e col cor pieno
D' un piacer dolce ameno,
Al vostro stato primo
Ritornate : e'l voler del ciel si segua :
Che, s' io non falso estimo,
Tempo non vi fia poi di pace, o tregua.
Quella real, possente, intrepid' alma
Che da benigne stelle
Fu qui mandata a rilevar la gente,
Con sue virtù vi muova invitte, e belle,
Ch' ebber sì chiara palma
Del barbarico popol d' Oriente,
Allor che sì repente
Col solito furor la Turca rabbia
Ne' nostri dolci liti a predar venne,
Là 've poscia sostenne
Il giusto giogo, in stretta, e chiusa gabbia.
Che se di tanta scabbia
Il nostro almo paese
Per sua presenza sol fu scosso, e netto ;
Che fia di vostre imprese,
Se contra voi pur arma il sacro petto ?
Nè vi muova, per Dio, che'l Tebro, e l' Arno
Tra selve orrende, e dumi,
A bada il tegnan ; che speranza è vana.
Ritardar nol potran monti, nè fiumi ;
Che mai non spiega indarno
Quella insegna felice, e più ch' umana.
La qual così lontana
(Se si confessa il ver) timor vi porge ;
E con l' immagin sua vi turba il sonno.
Onde, se i fati ponno

Quel che per veri effetti ognor si scorge ;
 Quanto più in alto sorge
 L' error che a ciò v' induce,
 Tanto fia del cader maggior la pena :
 Che tal frutto produce
 Ostinato voler, che non s' affrena.
 Così sola, ed inerme
 Come parti, Canzon, senz' altra scorta,
 (Benchè ingegni vedrai superbi, e schivi)
 Di 'l vero, ovunque arrivi ;
 Che'n ciel nostra ragion non è ancor morta.
 E se pur ti trasporta
 Tanto innanzi la voglia ;
 Rimordendo lor cieco e van desire,
 Digli che'n pianto, e doglia,
 Fortuna volge ogni sfrenato ardire.

NO. XXVII.

(Page 170.)

Dall' Opere Volgari di Cariteo.

CANZONE.

QUAL odio, qual furor, qual ira immane,
 Quai pianete maligni,
 Han vostre voglie unite hor si divise ?
 Qual crudeltà vi move, o spirti insigni,
 O alme Italiane,
 A dare il Latin sangue a genti invise ?
 Non sian homai si fise
 Le vostre menti, in voglie in foco accese,
 D' esser superiori a vostri eguali.
 O cupidi mortali,
 S' ardente honor vi chiama ad alte imprese,
 Ite a spogliar quel sacro almo paese
 Di Christian tropei.

Et tu, santa, immortal, Saturnia terra,
Madre d' huomini & dei,
Nei barbari converti hor l' impia guerra.
O mal concordi ingegni, o da prim' anni,
Et da le prime cune,
Abhorrenti da dolce & lieta pace;
Perchè correte in un voler comune
A li comuni danni,
Et in comune colpa il mal vi piace?
Perchè non vi dispiace
Tinger nel proprio sangue hor vostre spade?
Fu questo dato già dal fato eterno,
Quando l' sangue fraterno
Tinse'l muro di quella alma cittade,
Cón quella fera invidia & impietade?
Et hor qual morbo insano
Ha pollute le membra giunte in uno?
L' una con l' altra mano
Pugna, senza sperar triumpho alcuna.
Se ciò che per virtù far si devria
Si fa sol per argento,
Et non per gloria mai guerra s' imprende,
Quanto mal può sperarsi ogni momento
Da liga o compagnia
Di cui lo proprio honor vende & rivende.
Io so che tal mi intende,
Che per l' orecchi tene un lupo inico;
Che'l lasciar nel tener non gli è sicuro.
O petto immite & duro,
Contra li tuoi, di tuoi nemici amico;
Come non ti sovien del odio antico,
Che col primo Parente
Nacque? perchè non aspiri ad un bel atto?
Che con perfida gente
E perfidia servir promessa o patto.
Che maladetta sia di quel Sydonio
L' ombra perversa e sante,
Perfida alma crudel, superba & dura;

La qual de l' Alpe roppe il devio monte,
Et nel bel piano Ausonio
Scese per forza, & fe si gran paura.
Che già l' alma natura
Havea munita la bella planicie
Contra 'l superbo Gallico furore.
Hor l' infinito ardore
D' imperio, hor le private inimicizie,
Han la via trita in publica pernizie.
Nulla cosa si mostra
Difficile a mortali; il ciel tentamo
Con la stultitia nostra;
Fulmina Giove, & noi non paventamo.
Non parlo per cagion del proprio affanno;
Ch' en questa humil fortuna
Riposo più che gli altri in sommo imperio.
Ne mi move a parlar paura alcuna
D' alcun privato danno,
Ma sol di pace ardente desiderio.
Che nel bel campo Hesperio,
Di monarchia io veggio un Duca degno,
De la preclara sterpe d' Aragona,
Ch' aspecta aurea corona;
Non sol del proprio suo ma d'altrui regno.
Et duolmi che tal è de pena indegno
Che havrà dolor diversi.
Che'l picciol sempre geme per discordia
Di grandi, et non dolersi
De mal d'altrui, mi par somma vecordia.
Ben fu senza pietà quel ferreo petto,
Quel animo feroce,
Che fu inventor del ferro horrendo & forte.
Dallhora incominciò la pugna atroce
La venenosa Aletto;
Et di più breve via per l' impia morte
Aperse le atre porte.
Ma non fu in tutto colpa di quel primo
Che ciò che lui trovò col bel sapere

Incontro a l' aspre fere,
Noi nelli nostri danni hor convertimo.
Questo advien (se'l falso io non estimo)
Di fame di thesoro,
Ch' ogni petto mortal tene captivo.
Che pria che fusse l' oro,
Non era il ferro al huom tanto nocivo.
Ai pace, ai ben di buon si desiato,
Alma pace & tranquilla,
Per cui luce la terra, e'l ciel profondo ;
Pace d' ogni citade, & d' ogni villa,
D' ogni animal creato
Letitia, & gioia del siderio mondo ;
Mostra il volto giocondo,
Et con la spica e i dolci frutti in seno,
D' Italia adombra & l' una & l' altra riva
Con la frondente oliva;
Et in questo amenissimo terreno
Di Napol, dove 'l cielo è piu sereno,
Ferma i tuoi piedi gravi,
Facendone fruir quiete eterna.
Et con secure chiavi
Chiude la guerra a la pregione inferna.
Canzon, tra'l Pado & l' Alpe
Vedrai quel disdegnoso Duca altero,
Che di pace & di guerra in man le liabene
(Così il ciel vole) hor tene.
Digli che voglia homai vedere il vero,
E svegliar quel santissimo pensiero
Di publica salute ;
Che per moderne & per antique historie,
S' acquista per vertute,
Et non per signoria, la vera gloria.

No. XXVIII.

(Page 173.)

Vergier d' Honneur.

*Entre autres Gorre que faict a raconter par excellence
plus que chose du monde, sans en ce cas me vouloir mes-
conter, laisser ne veulx de dire et raconter;*

LE beau maintien, la manière faconde,
La grant beaulté, la constance feconde,
D'une acouchee si tresbien composee,
Que brief nature sa semblable ou seconde
N'a de son temps sur la terre posee,
Pour demonstrier le triumphe des dames
Au noble Roy naturel pere d'elles;
Semblablement a ses nobles gendarmes
Qui en tous lieux tant de corps comme flammes
De leur honneur soubscient les querelles.
Elles choisirent la plus belle d'entre elles,
Et sur ung hourt en ung beau lict couchee,
Soubz couvertures que point n'en est de telles
La firent mettre ainsi q'une acouchee.

Le ciel du lit fut d'ung fin drap d'or vert,
Larges rideaux de demas figure;
Le demeurant d'ung cramoisy couvert,
Et pouvoit on veoir tout a decouvert
Ung personnaige de grace bien heurée,
Ung doux visaige si tresbien mesure
Que mieulx n'eust sceu, vermeil et non paly;
Somme dedans l'on se fust bien mire
Tant estoit cler frez luyant et poly.

D'ung fin veloux cramoisy avoit manches,
Pelissonnes de martres subelines,
Ses couleurs furent violettes et blanches,
Parmy posees bagues de haultes branches,
Pour faire avoir les fievres jaquelines,
Gros dyamans, turquoyses, cornalines,

Perles de pris grandement estimée,
 Pour decorer ses douceurs femenines
 De toutes pars elle estoit sursemee.

Aux deux costez du chevet de son lict
 On avoit mis deux grans carreaux d'or trait ;
 Et soubz son lict pour singulier delict
 Deux d'autre sorte d'une figure eslit,
 Qu'onque au pays de telz n'en fut retret.
 Homme visaige ne vit jamais pourtrait,
 De marbre blanc, d'alebastre, ou paincture,
 Si beau, si net, si gentement extraict,
 Que lors avoit celle humble creature.

Aux quatre boutz des carreaux et convertes
 Avoit boutons, mouchietz, houpes estranges ;
 Et pour mieulx voir la gorre descouverte
 D'ung or de cypres avecques soye verte,
 Et force perles, furent faictes les franges.
 Autour la dame ung tas de faces d'anges
 Plus que deesses ou sibilles plaisantes,
 Pour confermer toutes haultes louanges
 On le tenoit trop plus que souffrisantes.

Devant le lict estoit le jeune enfant,
 Beau a merveilles, sans pleur et sans effroy ;
 D'acoustremens qu'on billebarre et fend,
 Le plus gorrier et le plus triumpgant
 Qu'on vit jamais fusse le fils du roy.
 Pres de luy fut en singulier arroy
 Une tres belle gracieuse nourrice,
 Bien acoustre sans faire aucun destoy
 D'ung veloux vert tissu de haulte tice.
 Dames sans nombre a faces angeliques,
 Bien acoustrees de drap d'or et satin ;
 Verges, carcans, bordures auctentiques,
 Gros dyamans et saphirs magnifiques,
 Pour enrichir la gorge et le tetin.
 La robbe longue, le gorgias patin,
 Le corps trousse friskement de velours.
 C'estoit assez, qui entend mon latin,

Pour y avoir ung tribunal d'amours.
 A resjouyr l'affection humaine,
 La voyoit on gorre desmesurees,
 Tant en beaulte qu'en richesse haultaine;
 Oncques ne fut si sumptueux demaine
 Pour veoir autant de choses decorees.
 Grans escussions a fleurs de lys doree
 Sur l'eschauffault a dextre et a senestre,
 Gettans fumes de senteurs odorees.
 Somme, c'estoit ung paradis terrestre.
 Devant le roy ce mystere fut fait:
 Tant qu'avec luy ny avoit creature
 A regarder lordre de tel effect,
 Qui ne fust lors royaulment et de fait
 Quasi substrettes es œuvres de nature.
 Au jugement d'humaine conjecture,
 Que cueur desire e l'oïel appete a voir,
 Pour contenter ung homme par droicture
 Possible n'est de mieulx au monde avoir.

No. XXIX.

(Page 179.)

Ex Monument. Ang. Fabronii, in vita Leon. X.

Magnifici Patres honorandi.

Io non piglio altra scusa con V. M. di questa mia subita
 partita, perchè non credo dovere essere imputato o ripreso
 di quello, che secondo l'animo mio et debile giudicio, mi è
 parso el piu salutifero rimedio a conservatione della quiete
 della mia patria, e di manco impedimento dello universale et
 pericolo d'ogni altri, da me in fuori, et manco disagio a tutte
 le occorrentie presenti, parendomi coll' offerirmi in persona
 alla M. Xma. di Francia, poter meglio sedare l'ira o odio
 havessi concepata contro cotesta città, o stato di quella, per
 le opere conservate sino a quì ad istanzia della vostra fede et

oblighi verso altri. Perchè se S. M. Xma. non vuole altro che la mutazione delle operazioni vostre, Io che ne sono stato incolpato, o me ne purgherò con S. M. Xma. o ne piglierò conveniente supplicio più presto in la persona mia che in cotesta Rep. Per la quale, ancora che simile opera sia peculiare già fatta di casa mia, mi pare essere tenuto molto più ad affaticarmi che e miei predecessori, per essere io stato molto più sopra e meriti miei honorato che gli altri, che quanto mancho ne sono stato degno, più me obliga a questo che fo al presente, et a non pardonare mai a fatica, disagio, o spesa, fino alla morte inclusive. La quale mi reputerei a beneficio se la spendessi per ciascun di voi in particolare, et tanto più per l' universale di cotesta città, come me ingegno fare al presente, che o ne reporterò el contento et vostro et della città, o vi lascerò la vita. In tanto prego le M. V. per la fede et affectione debbono alle ossa del vostro Lorenzo, mio padre, et lo amore havete conservato verso di me, non manco figliuolo vostro che suo in riverenza et affectione, siate contenti fare pregare Dio per me, et havere per raccomandati miei fratelli et figliuoli, de' quali se a Dio pace ch' io non torni, ne fo a tutti voi testamento, et me insieme con loro vi raccomando. Io partirò di qui domattina, &c.

Di V. M. figliuolo,

PIERRO DE' MEDICI,

In Empoli, die 26 Octobris, 1494.

No. XXX.

(Page 181.)

Ex Monument. Ang. Fabronii, in vita Leon. X.

A Pietro Bibiena.

PREGOVI di fare intendere al mio magnifico Mess. Marino, che poi che mio padre morì, io ho servito con quella fedele affectione la M. del Sig. Re Alph. ed il suo padre, che mi è suta possibile, et mi sono condocto tanto in là con questa de-

votione, che ora come intenderete trahor ad immolandum, et questo è perchè abbandonato da tutti cittadini Fiorentini amici et inimici miei, non mi bastando più nè la reputatione, nè li denari; nè il credito a sostenere la guerra accepta sponte in casa, ho preso per partito, non potendo servire colle forze (le quali jam defecerunt) alla M. del Sig. Re Alph. servirli almanco colla desperatione, la quale mi conduce a darmi in potere del Re di Francia senza condizione o speranza di bene alcuno, se non di havere messo la vita dopo le altre cose mie per quello a chi me reputavo obbligatissimo, e mi reputerò dum vivam. Pregherete S. M. se degni excusarmi con la M. del Re, se prima non li ho fatto intendere questo mio concepto, che ne è suto cagione el non essere prima in necessità tale, nè mai havermi pensato per non havere mai diffidato in tanti amici, et in una tale città come è Firenze, et me excusi S. M. che non sono el primo infermo che si conduce all' extrema untione senza conoscersi mortale. In somma direte questo, che anche infermo conserverò la fede mia al S. Re Alph. et forse li sarò più utile servitore appresso il Re di Francia, che nel primo luogo dello Stato, che è sì debole a Firenze, et se ben hora io offendo in qualche parte S. M. lo fo contra mia voglia, et forzato: Prometteteli che sentirà aliquando fidem immaculatam ancora in quest' atto di Piero de' Medici: simile pregate S. M. faccia coll' Exc. del mio Duca di Calabria, e me li raccomandi humilmente.

Pisis, die 27 Oct. 1494.

No. XXXI.

(Page 186.)

Ex Orig. in Archiv. Reip. Flor.

HOC est INVENTARIUM LIBRORUM, qui inventi sunt inter Libros Domini ANGELI POLITIANI, quos secernendo extraxit inde Dominus JOHANNES LASCHARI Græcus, ex commissione Dom norum; coram Domino Theodoro et coram Do-

mino Bartholomæo de Crais; quod inventarium confectum fuit in domo Petri de Medicis, die xxiv. Octobris, 1495, ut patet in originali.

ARISTOTELIS Poetica, et quædam alia in Græco. *in Papyro.*
GALENI de compositione pharmacorum. *in Papyro.* in Græco.

PETRI HISPANI, Dialectica et quædam alia, in Græcum de Latino versa. *in Papyro.*

Leges quædam, cum glossis. *In Membrana.* glossulæ vero sunt in marginibus.

Omeliæ JOHANNIS GRISOSTOMI. in Græco.

SERVIVS, in Virgilium. *in Membrana.* Latinus codex.

ARISTOTELIS de Mundo, in Græco; simul cum POLEMONIS meditationibus, et Aristotelis Metaphysicis. *in Papyro.*

Compendium trium Librorum ORIBASII; factum per HÆTIUM. *in Papyro.*

Instituta, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

Epistolæ THEODORI LASCHARIS. *in Papyro.* In Græco.

ACTUARIi opus de Medicina, de Urinis: in Græco. *in Papyro*; et GALENI quædam.

GALENI quædam in Medicina, et ejusdem liber de dicto Auctore, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

ALEXANDER TRALIANUS, in Medicina, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

LIBER GALENI in Medicina; cujus primum capitulum de Cardiacis. *in Papyro.* *In asseribus, sine operimento.* In Græco.

GALENI de compositione pharmacorum. *in Papyro.* Signatus No. 225. Græco.

Liber GALENI in Medicina; in Græco. *in Papyro.* habens primum capitulum de Theriacis Alexipharmicis. *In asseribus, non opertus.* Signatus No. 223.

GALENUS de usu particularum in homine, et liber ejusdem de pulsibus. *in Papyro.* et Græco. Signatus No. 215.

PRISCIANUS quidam antiquus. *in Membrana.* Signatus No. 347. Latinus.

PRISCIANUS iterum antiquus. *in Membrana.* No. 626. Latinus.

DEMOSTHENIS Orationes. Græcæ. *in Papyro.*

HISTORIA ZONARÆ. in Papyro. In Græco.

GALENI de pharmacis, secundum genus. In Græco. in Papyro. No. 218.

PEDAGII Dioscoride Anazarbis, in Græco. Liber de materia. in Papyro. Signatus No. 230.

Compendium Philosophiæ GEORGII PROTERTIOI. In Græco. in Papyro.

ARISTOTELIS Metaphysica parumper, et Galeni de Anatomia. No. 216. (hunc Codicem D. Io. Lascari penes se.)

Pars POLLUCIS et quædam alia, et POLIENIS Stratagemata. In Græco. in Papyro, et antiquo codice, volumine, mediocri, tecto operimento rubro. No. 91.

Excerpta quædam ex diversis auctoribus, et proverbia, et quædam alia. Sine tabulis. in Papyro.

PYNDARI Olimpya, et pars Pythiorum, cum expositione. in Papyro. In Græco. No. 87.

XENOPHONTIS Græciæ Historia. in Papyro. Sine tabulis. In Græco. No. 622.

Quædam in Physica. Primum de Climatibus Terræ, et Expositio THEONIS in Arati phenomena. in Papyro. Sine Tabulis. In Græco. No. 139.

ARISTOTELIS Politica. In Græco. in Papyro. Ligata in quadam carta membranæa.

ARATUS cum expositione. In Græco. In Membranis, ligatus in quadam carta.

Galeni Liber antiquus. In Græco. In Membranis. In quadam carta.

Vocabula quædam Medicinalia, et quædam alia. in Græco. In Papyro. In tabulis, sine operimento. Vetustissima. No. 221.

Quædam recollecta a Domino ANGELO POLITIANO in pueritia sua. in Papyro. In Latino, et ligata simul in quadam carta membranæa.

No. XXXII.

(Page 190.)

Vergier d' Honneur.

Comment le Roy fist son entree a Florence, en quel triumphe il y entra, l' ordonnance qu'il y fit, et comment les bendes marcherent les unes apres les aultres.

EN grant triumphe et en grant excellence
En bruit en los d'honneur victorieux
Le Roy des Roys entra dedans Florence,
Ou il conquist ung renom glorieux :
Car il portoit le glaive furieux
Pour son vouloir par tout executer ;
Et pour la guerre ou la paix discuter
Par haultx exploits d'emprise vertueuse,
Dont pour au vray du droit en disputer,
Declairer veulx la facon merueilleuse.

Quant les seigneurs du Roy furent venus,
Ils luy baillerent les grans clefs de la porte,
Et luy priant qu'ils feussent soustenus,
Et maintenuz soubz sa haulte puissance ;
Et desormes en son obeyssance
Tres humblement tous ils se maintiendroient,
Son nom garderoient, ses armes deffendroient ;
Et outre plus pour leur erreur distraire,
A telle loy quil vouldroit se joindroient
Sans jamais jour eulx ayder du contraire.

Quant leur vouloir par leur conceupt,
Sur leur requeste, a bien peu de langaige,
Benignement le bon Roy les receipt,
Sans leur vouloir faire mal ne dommaige,
Et des plus grans receipt foy et hommaige
Incontinent par grant solempnite,
En rabaissant leur temerairete,
Et leur vouloir de soubdaine chaleur
Dont ils s'estoient contre luy despite,
Bien leur monstra qu'il estoit leur seigneur.

Processions comme j'ay devant dit,
Dignes corps saintz, precieuses relicques,
Sortirent hors sans aucun contredit,
Croix, confanons, banieres autentiques,
Cures vestus de chappes magnifiques,
Abbes, doyens, chantres, archediacres,
Pretres chantans, chanoynes, soudiacres,
Portans joyaulx de saints, de vierges, d'anges,
Et beaulx vaisseaulx de precieulx lavacres
Vindrent vers luy pour luy rendre louenges.

Tous les estats du grant jusques au moindre,
Tant fussent ils de noblese ou clergie,
Bourgois, marchans, furent contrains d'eulx joingdre,
A ceste loy pour le plus abrege ;
Et de venir dessoubz ung train renga
Bien acoustres devers ledit seigneur:
Portans joyaulx, bagues de grant valeur,
Et beaulx habits de sumptueux arroy,
En luy faisant reverence et honneur,
Ne plus ne moins que leur souverain Roy.

Que diray je pour parler court et brief;
Quant si pres d'eulx le bon seigneur sentirent,
Quoy qu'a aucuns le cas fust ung peu grief,
Ce neantmoins grans et petis sortirent,
Et toutes bonnes obeyssance firent
Faveur, support, subjection, souffrance,
Ce que devant en effect et substance
Ne pensoient pas Tuscains parole tonde.
Qu'a ceste loy la ville de Florence
Eussent peu mettre tous les princes du monde.

Les Florentins a face angeliques,
Sur eschauffaulx, fenestres, et tauldis,
Venysiennes, Rommaines autentiques,
Vindrent illec veoir le Roy des hardis ;
Et leur sembloit estre a ung paradis
De veoir Francoys en leurs terres marcher,
Car bien scavent que pour enharnacher
La nef Venus d'amoureux advirons,

Et pour apoint ung connin embrocher
Qu'ils ny vont pas ainsi que bougerons.

Après recueil los, honneur, reverence,
Faicte au bon Roy sans vouloir denigre,
L'on commenca de marcher vers Florence
En ordonnance de degre en degre.
Et si fut tel du bon seigneur le gre,
Que Florentins tous les premiers marchassent,
Affin que nuls les Francoys n'empeschassent ;
Mais fust a tous ceste entree famee,
Tendant a fin que Florentins goutassent
L'excellence de sa pompeuse armee.

S'ensuyt comment apres que les Seigneurs tant de l' Eglise que de la Ville, marchans, bourgoys et aultres mecaniques, furent entres, Les bendes du Roy commencerent a marcher, qui fut la chose la plus singuliere qu'on veit jamais pour entree de ville.

ET PREMIEREMENT LES COULEUVRINIERS.

QUANT Florentins avec leurs instrumens,
Furent entres vestus d'habits propices,
Premierement vindrent les Allemans,
Lancequenets, foussignerans, souysses,
Portans plastrons, bracelets, escrevices,
Et mesmement tous les coulevriniers ;
Plus barboilles que pources charbonniers,
De manier leur salpestre et pouldre.
Et quant il fault ruer sur les paniers,
A doubter sont plus que tonnoirre ou fouldre.

LA BENDE DES PICQUIERS.

Après marcherent les bende des grans picques,
Moult friskues a grans pas furieux ;
Saichans des ars marciens les pratiques,
Plus qu'autres nez a cella curieux.
Car gens y a de nom victorieux,

Dignes d'avoir par leurs beaulx faits maints don.
Et parmy eulx avoit fleustes, bedons,
De leurs explets sonnans les extremets ;
Sans oublier estandars ne guydons,
Le mieulx en point que l'on les veit jamais.

LA BENDE DES ARBALESTRIERS.

Après marcha la bende aux arbalestriers,
Entremesles de grans joueurs d'espees :
Gens acharnez au sang comme loudiers,
Par lesquels sont maintes gorges coppees.
Et pour donner bauffree et lippees,
Autant expres que l'on ne saiche point ;
Tous acoustres en chausse et en pourpoint,
D'une parure et des couleurs royalles.
Lesquelles bendes, pour en parler apoint,
Ont vers le Roy tousjours este loyalles.

A son coste chascun la courte dague
De fin drap d'or, chaulses, escarteleees ;
La chayne au col, et au bonnet la bague ;
Les grans perruques jusqu'au dos avalleees ;
Neyves plumes de paillettes fueillees
Et sur leurs bras grans devisses de perles,
A beaulx oyseaulx comme pigeons et merles
D'orphaverie a roleaux enlacez ;
Et aultres choses singulieres et belles
Sur leurs personnes ils portoient assez.

LES CAPITAINES.

En tel estat passerent bien six mille,
Tous deux a deux, et a grans pas divers ;
Desquels fut chief comme le plus habille
Monsieur de Cleves et Conte de Nevers ;
Escartele de tort et de travers
De fin drap d'or seme de pierreries,
A grosses houppes de fine orphaverie ;
Marchant a pied aussi droit comme ung jon.

Avecques luy l'escuyer d'escuyrie ;
Lornay aussi, le bailly de Dyjon.

LES ARCHIERS D'ORDONNANCES.

Après ceulx cy les archiers d'ordonnances
Vindrent soudain a tout leurs arcs bendes :
La belle trousse a flesches de deffences ;
Hommes bien pris, bien formes, et fondes,
Tous deux a deux en belle ordre guydes.
A leurs costes le espees moult fines,
Beaulx gorgerins, dorees brigandines,
A soustenir ou escousse ou desserre.
A mon advis bien suffisans et dignes
Pour estre gens vertueulx a la guerre.

LES HOMMES D'ARMES.

Incontinent vindrent les hommes d'armes
Sur grans coursiers, sur genets et destriers,
Comme beaulx dieux reluysans en leurs armes ;
La bride au poing et le pied aux estriers,
Tous habilles non pas comme peaultriers,
Mais comme roys, princes, ou empereurs,
Et pour monstrier qu'ils estoient empareurs
D'honneur mondain a grans saulx et ruades,
Sur le pave sans estre en rien paoureux
Devant les dames firent mille pennades.

Sur leurs chevaulx d'or et d'argent sonnettes,
Orphaveries par despit mesurees,
Chanfrains dorez, plumes a grans brochettes,
De pailles d'or assez desmesurees,
D'azur dacre grans bardes asurees
Estincelantes au soleil radieux ;
Et parmy eulx clairs melodieux
Trompes, cornets, et tabourins de guerre.
Brief il sembloit que deesses ou dieux
Fussent des cieulx descendus sur la terre.

LE NOMBRE DES HOMMES D'ARMES.

Ils estoient bien en nombre huyt cens lances,
Montez, bardez ainsi comme dit est,
Tous gentils hommes dignes de grans vaillances
Pour tost avoir d'ung pays le conquest :
Sans regarder au gaing ne a l'aquest,
Mais aux honneurs et aux louenges famees,
Ainsi que gens de maisons renommees,
Progenies plains de noble vouloir,
Qui ont toujours les provinces aymeas
Ou guerre gist pour eulx faire valoir.

LA BENDE DES DEUX CENS ARBALESTRIERS.

Ces huyt cens lances en tel estat passees.
Trop mieulx en point que je ne dis le tiers,
Des ordonnances frisquement compassees,
Vindrent apres deux cens arbalestriers,
Hardis, vaillans, couraigeux, et entiers,
Dessus le col l'arbalestre bendee
Qui n'estoit pas de foiblesse fardee,
Mais par raison, grosse, puissante et forte ;
Et le garrot ou la vire fondee
Pour trespercer ung demy pied de porte.

A leur coste l'espee longue et large,
La courte dague pour son homme aborder,
Le grant bauldrier avecques le guindage,
Pour a deux coups l'arbalestre bender,
Et pour a point plusieurs coups desbender,
La grosse trousse de garrots et de vires
Pareils a ceulx qu'on voit en les navires,
Le plus souvent user a volonte,
Il nen est point en ce monde de pires,
Pour en narrer la pure verite.

Petis chappeaulx, deschiquetes, coppes,
Trouez, percez, fretaillez, entrouvers,
Par aucuns lieux de soye envelopes.
Et de rubens, rouges, blancs, noirs, et vers,

Grosses taillades de tort et de travers
 Petis plumars de faisans et d'ayrons,
 Bien enrichis par tout les environs,
 De perleries et de belles paillettes ;
 Et si estoient leurs pourpoints et sayons
 Tous atachez a fer d'or d'esguillettes.

LA BENDE DES ARCHIERS DE LA GARDE DU ROY.

Après vindrent les archiers de la garde,
 Grans et puissans, bien croises, bien fendus,
 Qui ne portoient pique ne halebarde,
 Fors que leurs arcs gorrierement tendus :
 Leur bracelets aux pongnets estendus
 Bien ataches a grans chaynes d'argent ;
 Autour du col le gorgerin bien gent,
 De cramoisy le plantureux pourpoint
 Assez propre fusse pour ung regent
 Ou grant duc accoustre bien apoint ;
 Dessus le chief la bien clere sallade,
 A cloux dores fournis de pierrerie ;
 Dessus le dos le hocqueton fort sade,
 Tout surseme de fine orphaverie ;
 La courte dague, l'espee bien fourbie,
 La gaye trousse a custode vermeille,
 Le pied en lair aux escoutes loreille.
 Brief on disoit tout veu et regarde,
Quoeste my pare oune grande merveille,
Et son mirato, par le sangque de dé.

Quant les archiers en leurs pompes haultaines
 Furent passes, trois a trois, quatre a quatre,
 Pied a pied vindrent leurs nobles capitaines,
 Qui ne sont pas gens pour cropir en lastre.
 Comme Cresol, et Claude de la chastre,
 Avec son fils dit Monsieur Quoquebourne ;
 En ordonnance chevaleureuse et bonne ;
 Par excellence habilles richement.
 Brief pour planter des grans gorres la bonne
 C'estoit je croy suffisant parement.

LA BENDE DES CENT GENTILSHOMMES DU ROY.

Ces gens passez en si pompeux arroy,
Incontinent sans servir d'aulture mets,
Vindrent les cent gentilshommes du Roy,
Les mieulx enpoint que l'on les vit jamais.
Ayans habits de divers entremets,
Tant de drap d'or comme de cramoisy
Le plus exquis qui fut oncques choisy ;
Satin de pris grant, damas figure,
En son endroit chascun l'avoit saisy,
Pour estre mieulx des dames honnoure.

Larges sayons, decoppes, taillades,
Deca, dela, de tort, et de travers,
De pierreries farcis entrelardes,
Et de perles saulgrenes et couvers,
Par plusieurs lieux mistement entrouvers
Pour veoir dessoubz les enrichemens
De leurs harnoys, plus clers que dyamans ;
En tous endroits trop mieulx faits que cire.
Conclusion de leurs assualcemens
Possible n'est de la disme estimer.

Genets, coursiers, riches bardes, houssures,
Plumars remplis d'orphaveries fines,
Chanfrains dores a grans entrelassures,
Armets luysans, bicquoquets, capelines,
Bucques de pris, tres riches mantelines,
Venans sans plus jusqu'au dessus des fauldes,
A gros rubis, turquoyes emerauldes ;
Et pour attaindre aux belliques accors,
Ils monstroient bien par leurs ruades bauldes
Qu'en France y a gens qui ont cueur et corps.

PAIGES D'HONNEUR ET LAQUAIS.

Sur grans chevaulx leurs pages les suyvoient,
Et a beau pied laquais de point en point,
Qui de drap d'or et de velours avoient
Le grant sayon, ou du moins le pourpoint.

Possible n'est de veoir gens mieulx en point.
Le petit dard, le poignart, la rapiere,
Chausses tirantes, perruque singuliere,
De beau drap d'or la gorriere barrette,
Ou de velours, puis la bague treschiere,
Et le plumart de faisant ou d'aigrette.

DU ROY.

En bruyt, en los, et en magnificence,
En grant triumphe de pondereux arroy,
En tout estat de pompeuse excellence,
Entra dedans le treschrestien Roy.
Laquais, archiers, avoit pour le desroy,
Autour de luy, luy preparant sa voye,
Monte dessus son courcier dit Savoye,
Le mieulx en point d'ornemens de valeurs
Qu'on vit jamais, ne possible est qu'on voye,
Fust pour cent roys ou autant d'empereurs.

Le bon seigneur vertueux et plaisant,
Plus qu'autre ne des humains honnore,
Arme estoit d'ung harnoys plus luysant
Q'ung dyamont, en plusieurs lieux dore
De grosses perles et pierres precieuses,
Tout son chief fut acoustre, decore,
Comme rubis, turquoyses sumptueuses ;
En sa couronne une grosse escharboucle,
Et au surplus, en ses armes joyeuses
Ne luy failloit ne hardillon ne boucle.

Ses bardes furent d'ung drap d'or decopees,
Toutes chargees de riche orphaverie,
A rubens d'or frisquement agrappees,
Et grosses houppes toutes de perlerie.
Sa manteline estoit a pierrerie,
Et broderie qui avoit moult couste.
Le bel estoc autour de son coste ;
Et en son col l'ordre des preux estoit.
Brief ie n'auroys en quinze jours compte
La grant richesse que dessus luy portoit.

Ung riche poille hault et droit sur la teste,
 De drap d'or traict a la mode de France ;
 Le tout en signe de victoire et conquete,
 De tout triumphe et de toute excellence.
 Quatre seigneurs des plus grans de Florence
 Luy comportoient tresmagnifiquement,
 Vestuz d'abis moult sumptueusement,
 Tresbien fourrez de martres subelines ;
 Et si avoient dessus leurs capelines,
 Rubiz, saphirs, fins balais de bigorre,
 Orientalles, perles et cornalines.
 Brief vivant n'est qui vit onc si grant gorre.

No. XXXIII.

(Page 201.)

Raccolta d' Opuscoli di Calogerà, vol. xviii. p. 38.

CAPITOTOLO D' INCERTO *al Serenissimo Agostino Barbarigo*
Doge di Venexia, in occasione che Carlo VIII. si por-
tava ad occupare il Regno di Napoli.

GIOVAMBATTISTA PARISOTTI A' LETTORI.

Io mi stimo colui, al quale essendo la fortuna di tanto stata
 cortese, che gli fece venire alle mani Opere di chiari e va-
 lorosi uomini, che già da molto tempo si stavano nell' obbligo
 sepolte, essere da non picciolo obbligo astretto di mandarle
 quanto prima alla pubblica luce, ed in tal guisa, più non
 essendogli permesso, far corre in alcun modo il frutto delle
 fatiche loro a que' valentuomini, i quali, o per impotenza,
 o per non curanza, o dall' avara morte prevenuti, defrauditi
 furono di mandare ad effetto quanto per il bene pubblico, e
 per la propria gloria avevano egregiamente operato. Credei
 in tanto me essere uno di coloro, in cui un sì fatto obbligo si
 ritrovava ; poichè per buona sorte in poter mio pervenne un
 rarissimo Mss. di Poesie tutte in terza rima d'Autori del se-
 colo xv. in cui tra le altre si leggono molte terze rime d' An-
 tonio Tibaldèo, le quali non furono mai stampate, siccome

ho scorto dal rincontro ch' io feci a questo fine dell'ultima, per quanto stimo, edizione fatta in Venezia per Bartolomeo detto l'Imperator, e Francesco Veneziano l'anno 1554. in 8. e sono delle più belle composizioni, che il Tibaldèo, seguendo il suo stile, abbia lasciato uscire dalla sua penna. Si leggono oltre a ciò molte rime di Francesco Nursio Veronese, di Girolamo Berardo, di Lodovico Miliani, e di molt' altri, i di cui nomi, per diligenza usata non si possono rilevare. Poichè per fatalità il Mss. capitò in mano o di ragazzi, o di gente così ignorante, che si presero piacere di cassare tutti i nomi degli Autori delle composizioni, fuorchè quello del Tibaldèo, e degli altri soprannomati, li quali però, non essendo affatto annullati, a gran fatica si sono potuti intendere. Ma quello che molto più mi spiace si è, che non fu possibile di capir mai nè il nome, nè il cognome dell' Autore della composizione, le quale è il soggetto del mio discorso, poichè non solo fu cassato con la penna, ma raso col coltello, talchè ha tolto ogni speranza di saper mai l'Autore della medesima. Io perciò, vedendomi, come dissi in possesso del suddetto Mss. pensai da molto tempo di farne partecipe il pubblico, ristampando le poesie del Tibaldèo, ormai divenute sì rare, che con gran difficoltà si possono, da chi le brama, rinvenire, aggiungendovi ancora que' Capitoli del medesimo che sono inediti appresso il Mss. ed oltre a ciò il Capitolo, di cui si parlerà appresso, col fare infine una scelta de' belli componimenti degli altri Autori, di cui parte ci sono rimasi i nomi, e parte per il suddetto accidente ci sono, come dissi, rimasi ignoti. A questo mio onesto desiderio vi si opposero di molte cose sì per la stampa, e sì per essere io talvolta impedito per poter eseguire l'intento mio. Sicchè io pensai, che se al presente non mi è permesso di mandare pienamente ad effetto quant' io bramo, contentarmi di vederne effettuata qualche parte, pubblicando una composizione in terza rima, la quale, s' io non m' inganna, e per la bellezza del soggetto sopra cui è scritta e per il pregio della poesia supera tutte quelle del Mss. e può andar del pari con qualunque altra; sicchè ella ben merita che tosto tosto sia tolta dalle tenebre, e che ne siano fatti partecipi tutti coloro, che godono di vedere conservate le fatiche de'

chiari uomini, vale a dire tutti quegli, che sono o punto, o troppo delle belle, e buone lettere amanti. Il Capitolo intanto è scritto, come si ricava dalla lettura del medesimo, ad Agostino Barbadico Doge di Venezia nell' occasione della famosa venuta di Carlo VIII. Re di Francia in Italia per prendere il Regno di Napoli, che fu l'anno 1494. anzi, per parlare con più verità, egli è scritto quando già il Re aveva occupato il Regno, mentre il Poeta, esortando all' impresa il suddetto Doge, tra le altre cose dice, che egli non temia, poichè con lui se ne viene il gran Francesco Gonzaga, il quale, come si sa dalle Storie, fu da Veneziani fatto Capo della Lega conchiusa per impedire il vittorioso ritorno del Re in Francia; perchè poi nell' esprimer che fa il Poeta i lamenti delle principali Città d' Italia sbigottite per il timore dell' imminente loro ruina, e nel toccare alcune altre particolarità, egli si serve d' espressioni, che racchiudono in sè l' erudizione di que' tempi, ho stimato bene, per maggior facilità, e chiarezza di chi legge, illustrar con qualche annotazione que' luoghi, che patir potessero alcuna oscurità.

Passando ora a discorrere qualche cosa della persona del nostro Poeta, io dico che dalla composizione stessa si ricava, ch' egli era Soldato, e Soldato di non poco riguardo, perchè nella fine egli prega il Doge, che l' accetti nel numero de' suoi Condottieri, e gli rammenta, perchè non gli neghi la grazia, come nella passata guerra fu per lui prigioniero a Milano, e come non fu possibile nè per oro, nè per argento farlo dal medesimo ribellare. Ognuno pertanto vede quanto ragguardevole officio nella Milizia sia quello di Condottiere, e come un' ordinario Soldato non si tenta a costo d'oro staccarlo dal suo Sovrano, facendosi sì fatti tentativi solo con Soldati di considerazione, e che possono molto cooperare per la vittoria. Dico ancora, che da questo fatto a mio giudizio si ricava, ch' egli non era Suddito della Repubblica, poichè uno ch' è tale, non può rammemorare al suo Principe per punto di merito, non essergli nell' occasione stato ribello, anzi facendolo non poco l' offenderebbe, poichè è stretto debito di un Suddito l' essere fedele al suo Principe; oltre di che ordinariamente a un personaggio di riguardo non verrebbe molto a conto a tradire il suo Sovrano, poichè al

certo perderebbe ogni avere ch' egli possedesse nello Stato del suo Principe; sicchè per tutte queste riflessioni parmi al certo potere ragionevolmente concludere, che il nostro Poeta non era Suddito della Repubblica di Venezia. Chi poi egli si fosse non ho mai potuto per diligenza usata in coloro, che scrivono le vite de' Poeti, rinvenire, e nel Mss. il nome dell' Autore è come dissi talmente raso, che non è possibile il poterlo capire: solo pare che il suo cognome, guardandolo col Microscopio, finisca in NORI. Se da tutte queste circostanze, che ho narrate, alcuno potesse scoprire in qualche guisa chi si fosse l' Autore, o pure, se si ritrovasse appresso di se la medesima composizione, che non avesse patita la disgrazia d' essere stato cancellato il nome di quello, farebbe alcuno di molto utile al pubblico, se lo palesasse: poichè da questo Capitolo si scorge che il nostro Autore è grande, e felice nelle sue idèe, magnifico, e naturale insieme nell' espressioni; forte, e vivo ne' colori, e nelle figure, talchè pare, ch' egli sia un vero ritratto di Dante. Se queste prerogative in ogni Poeta sono rare ed ammirabili, molto più lo deono essere nel nostro, poichè egli si vivea nel Secolo xv. vale a dire in un tempo dove la Scuola di Dante, e del Petrarca, era affatto abbandonata, la coltura della Lingua perduta, sicchè a gran fatica si può trovare alcuno, che in quel Secolo sodamente e purgatamente componga. Pertanto, se il nostro Poeta per una particolar felicità, ed elevezza d' ingegno si è in tutte queste cose distinto dagli altri del suo tempo, egli ben merita, che ognuno adopri ogni diligenza per iscoprire chi egli si sia; mentre, fatto che fosse questo, potrebbe succedere, che con non molta difficoltà si rinvenissero altre composizioni dello stesso ugualmente belle, e più. Poichè dal Capitolo si ritrae, che quando egli lo scrisse era vecchio di molto: e perciò, se in una età, in cui il fervore della fantasia, produttrice delle sublimi e pellegrine idèe poetiche, era presso che raffreddato, sì fattamente componeva, che dobbiamo noi sperare ch' esser possano que' Componimenti da lui prodotti in un tempo che la mente era nel maggior colmo del suo vigore? Al certo maravigliosi e rari dovranno essere; sicchè ciascheduno,

come ho detto, impieghi ogni diligenza per ritracciare chi si sia questo valente Poeta, poichè sicuramente di molta gloria gliene verrà, e maggiore ancora se avesse la sorte di cavar dalle tenebre altre Opere dello stesso, le quali ben mostrano, da ciò che s'è detto, dovere esser degne d'arrichire la Volgar Poesia.

Di Roma, li 27. April, 1737.

AD SERENISSIMUM PRINCIPEM VENETUM.

SIGNOR, sentendo che Bellona in campo
 Quassa l'orrendo, e marzial flagello,
 Spargendo, come Drago, ardente vampo;
 E per troppo levar il gran martello,
 Sterope suda, sospira Vulcano,
 Rimbomba lo fornace in Mongibello;
 E vedendo la spada a Marte in mano,
 Che fulminando va con gran tempesta
 Verso l'antiquo suo Seggio Romano;
 E con l'ira al mal far credule, e presta,
 Con più di mille Navi, il Mar Tirreno, (a)
 E l'Elesponto acerbamente infesta;
 E per sparger ben tutto il suo veleno
 Lo squamoso (b) Biscion fatto ha il (c) Tesino
 Mutar il corso, e giungersi col Reno;

(a) *Il Mar Tirreno.* Quì il Poeta, per ben mostrare la futura ruina d'Italia, comincia a dire come il Turco con l'Armata Navale danneggiava i paesi de' Christiani; lo che si comprende nominando il Poeta l'Elesponto, leggendosi oltre a ciò, per maggior confermazione, le seguenti parole nella settima, ed ultima parte delle Storie Milanesi del Corio. *I Veneziani si scusano di dar ajuto a Carlo VIII. perchè erano sforzati con quanta forza avevano, a resistere al Turco ne' confini di Cipro.*

(b) *Biscion.* Gli Sforzeschi, che succedero a' Visconti nel Dominio di Milano, ritennero la stessa Arme che quelli portavano, ch'era una Serpe, e perciò il Poeta nominando il Biscione, significa sempre in questo componimento Lodovico Sforza detto il Moro, ad istigazione del quale si mosse Carlo VIII. a prendere il Regno di Napoli. Ciò fece Lodovico, perchè, ritenendo egli ingiustamente il Dominio di Milano dovuto a Giovanni Galeazzo suo Nipote, Alfonso Re di Napoli, a cui aveva data in moglie Isabella sua Figlia, aveva già mossa a Lodovico la guerra, perchè a nissun modo voleva egli rinunziare il governo al detto Galeazzo suo Nipote.

(c) *Il Tesino.* Qui dicendosi, che Lodovico fece unir il Tesino col Reno, non

E già (a) Marzocco sta col capo chino,
 Come fa il can battuto nella paglia,
 E la Lupa (b) ha pigliato altro cammino ;
 Temo, che la ruina di Tessaglia,
 Di Canne, e Trassimeno, Italia afflitta
 Non senta, che l' invidia ogni ben taglia.
 Italia tanto celebrata, e scritta,
 Italia già sì trionfante, e degna,
 Or dolorosa appena si tien dritta.
 Movi, Signor, la gloriosa insegna,
 Che mossa a tutto il Mondo fa paura,
 Soccorri lei, che di miseria è pregna ;
 Slega il Leon, che tanto è di natura
 Orrendo, e forte, ch' ogni altro animale
 A lui, come la cera al foco, dura.
 Ha il dente acuto, e ben pennate l' ale,
 Nervosa seta, ed unghiuta la branca ;
 Non potrà contra lui forza mortale.
 (c) Ercol non vedi tu, che batte l' anca,
 Per far al tuo Leon, come al Nemèò,

può significar altro, che Giovanni Bentivoglio Signor di Bologna s' era unito con lui, e lo confermano queste parole del Corio nel sopradetto luogo. *Ercole Estense Marchese di Ferrara, e Giovanni Bentivoglio, che di Bologna teneva il Principato, s'offerse in tutti i mandati a Carlo.*

(a) *Marzocco.* Marzocco vuol dire propriamente Leone dipinto, o scolpito ; perciò, il Poeta con questa parola dinota Firenze, nell' antica Arme della quale ch' era una Croce, i Guelfi v' aggiunsero il Leone. Non può significare al certo Venezia, poichè alquanto dopo si vede ch' egli dipinge il Leone de' Veneziani terribile, e feroce siccome quello, che solo doveva liberar l' Italia oppressa. Nominando il Poeta subito Siena vicina a Firenze conferma maggiormente il detto mio.

(b) *E la Lupa.* La Lupa mostra Siena, portando essa quell' animale per Arme, a tenore di cui disse il Petrarca nella Canzone XI.

Oris , Lupi, Leoni, Aquile, e Serpi
 Ad una gran marmorea Colonna
 Fanno noja sovente, ed a se danno.

Ecco poi come qui *Leoni* significano Firenze, che il nostro Poeta ha espresso con la parola Marzocco.

(c) *Ercol.* Vuol dire Ercole primo Duca di Ferrara nemico de' Veneziani sino dall' anno 1482. nel qual tempo essi tentarono di togli Ferrara con una lunga guerra di due anni.

(a) Benchè la forza spesso al voler manca.
 Serse, Alessandro, Dario, e Tolomeo
 Han fatto lega, e già son sopra l'Arno,
 E van per ruinar il Colisèo.
 Grida (b) Bren furioso, s' io non scarno
 Questo mio corpo anzi il finir dell' anno,
 Dimonstrerò, che non combatto indarno.
 Chi usa la forza, chi adopra l' inganno;
 Non tardar più, che spesso il tardar noce;
 Mal si provedde, quando è giunto il danno.
 L' amaro pianto, e la dolente voce,
 Che fa Romagna, fin al Ciel rimbomba,
 Lacerata dal vulgo aspro, e feroce.
 Senza colpo di spada, (c) o suon di tromba,
 Fa della gente nostra il popol crudo,
 Come il Falcon suol far della Colomba.
 Ogni cor di valor è casso, e nudo,
 Tutta la terra di Saturno trema,
 Che fu già di Bellona il primo scudo.
 Non è spirto sì fier, ch' ora non tema,
 Nessun aspetta un sol colpo di lancia,
 Par che sia giunto Italia all' ora estrema.
 Posto è di Roma il Seggio alla bilancia,
 Che trionfava in tanto onor, e fama,
 E domata ha più volte e Spagna, e Francia.
 Giunge Fiorenza dolorosa, e grama,
 Chiamando l' ombra afflitta di Lorenzo, (d)

(a) *Benchè*. Significa il picciolo Stato, e perciò le picciole forze di quel Duca a rispetto de' Veneziani molto potenti.

(b) *Bren*. Col nome di Brenno Capitano de' Galli, che presero Roma fuorchè il Campidoglio, vuol dinotar Carlo VIII. a cui ben convenivasi il titolo di *Furioso* a riguardo della prestezza, della difficoltà, e de' perigli della sua impresa, che con tanto coraggio volle eseguire. Si avverta ancora, che il Poeta fa dire queste due parole a Brenno con una espressione, e con un suono molto aspro, come appunto era conveniente ad un Barbaro qual era Brenno.

(c) *Senza colpo di spada*. Con queste parole il Poeta vuol dinotare le continue sedizioni, e tumulti, ond' era oppressa la Romagna tutta in quel secolo, che obbediva a molti piccioli Signori, li quali per lo più la governavano da Tiranni, come si ha dalle Storie.

(d) *Lorenzo*. Lorenzo de' Medici, che fu Padre di Papa Leone X. morto due anni avanti, cioè l' anno 1492. essendo stata la venuta di Carlo VIII. in Italia l'

Che così morto estolle, onora, ed ama ;
 Afflitta perchè vede il fier Mezenzio,
 E Turno andar contra il pietoso Enea,
 Spargendo amaro più che nell' assenzio.
 E come in sorte acerba, iniqua e rea,
 Il superbo Ilione fu combusto,
 Opra del crudo stral di Citerèa,
 Al fin sotto l' Imperio iniquo, e ingiusto,
 Teme star serva della turba fera,
 Che perso ha di pietate il dolce gusto.
 Il tuo soccorso chiama la Pantera,
 (a) La Pantera, che Lucca abbraccia, e onora,
 Perchè in te sol, come in suo porto, spera.
 Ahimè, che piagà è questa, che m' accora,
 Ove va lo mio regno, e lo mio scetro,
 Qual fato contra me crudel lavora ?
 O gloria umana, come sei sul vetro
 Fondata, e come presto il tempo chiaro
 Diventa nubiloso, oscuro, e tetro !
 Debbo ber un velen sì forte, amaro,
 Debbo servir a sì spietata plebe,
 A un popol del mie sangue fatto avaro ?
 Chi goderà le mie fiorite glebe ?
 Gente senza clemenza, e senza legge,
 Che una Cucina fu di Atene, e Tebe ;
 Indomito, superbo, e pazzo gregge,
 Che adora per suoi Dei Venere, e Bacco,
 E sotto al suo trionfo se coregge.
 Menerà con gran furia a foco, e sacco
 Il grato ospitio, il dolce seggio, e nido,
 Ovo riposo il corpo afflitto, e stracco ;
 Più di me stessa, trista, non mi fido,

anno 1494. come si è detto di sopra. Il Poeta poi dice Firenze afflitta per la morte di Lorenzo, poichè quegli, sino che visse, con la sua prudenza tenne ottimamente bilanciate le cose d' Italia ; e morto lui, ne insorsero quelle rovine, che danneggiarono la sua Patria non meno, che l' Italia tutta ; come dicono particolarmente gli Storici Fiorentini.

(a) *La Pantera.* Arme della Repubblica di Lucca.

Poichè San Marco tanto mal comporta,
 E non ascolta il mio lamento, e grido.
 Pallida in vista, lagrimosa e smorta,
 D' affanno, di tormento, e doglia piena,
 Or son, vivendo, assai peggio che morta.
 Grida con voce sì misera Siena,
 Che farebbe spezzar un cor di sasso,
 E pianger seco un Aspe la sua pena.
 Dicendo or sei pur giunta a quel dur passo, (a)
 Che temuto hai più volte, o meschinella !
 Ogni tua gloria è ruinata al basso.
 Sarai tra Lupi una vil pecorella,
 Che quando t' aran tutto toso il pelo,
 Ti straccieran con voglia irata, e fella.
 Leva dagli occhi miei, leva quel velo,
 Che mi turba la vista, o Leon Santo,
 Torna la Primavera incontra il gelo ;
 Tu solo mutar puoi l' angoscia, e il pianto
 In pace, in allegrezza, in festa, in gioja,
 A te di questa impresa è dato il vanto ;
 Non comportar, che pianga come Troja,
 Misera, ed infelice, ch' al fin creggio,
 Che tu ne patiresti affanno, e noja.
 E Pisa dolorosa, al tutto veggio
 Voltarsi contra me l' aspra fortuna,
 Per ruinar il mio felice seggio.
 Son stato un tempo d' ogni ben digiuna,
 Or ch' io credeva star contenta, e lieta,
 Vedomi apparecchiar la vesta bruna.
 Irato è il Cielo, e ciascun suo Pianeta
 Tanto verso di me, che più non posso
 Toccar la prima mia trionfal meta ;
 Stracciata m' ha la carne, e rotto l' osso
 Una bestia crudel ; or fiera gente
 L' ultimo carico mi vuol porre addosso.

(a) *Dur passo.* La parola *duro* regolarmente non s' accorcia ; ma quì il Poeta l' accorciò, per esprimere con la parola l' aspro e duro stato in cui si ritrovava l' Italia : la qual cosa si vede fatta da' più valorosi Poeti, cioè d' accomodare il suono delle parole al significato delle medesime.

Con furia è mosso tutto l' Occidente,
 Guasconi, Inglesi, Piccardi, Alemani
 Disposti a morte con tutta la mente ;
 Galli spietati, e feroci Germani,
 (a) Lingoni orrendi, e di lunghe aste armati,
 e Nervj barbari inumani,
 Come indomite Tigri, ed Orsi irati,
 Onde mugghia Garonna, e stride Ibero,
 E tutti gli altri fiumi son turbati ;
 Poichè San Marco non move il suo Impero,
 So che a ogni modo porterò la soma,
 Nè in tempo alcuno aver mai più ben spero.
 Con vesta oscura, e con incolta coma,
 Afflitta, lassa, trista, e sconsolata
 Miseramente si lamenta Roma ;
 Ahimè, dicendò, ov' è la gloria andata
 De' miei trionfi, ov' è quella eccellenza,
 Che mi fece Regina incoronata !
 Solea portarmi onor, e riverenza
 Ogni Stato, Dominio, Imperio, e Regno,
 Mossi da mia real magnificenza.
 E per mostrar di vera fede il segno,
 Mi davan con amor tributo, e omaggio,
 Seguendo ogni mia voglia, ogni disegno.
 Splendeva il lume del mio chiaro raggio,
 Da Scitia inculta alla felice Arabbia,
 Dall' Oriente fin dove il viaggio
 Finisce il Sol, e come fa la sabbia
 Girar or alto, or basso, quando spira
 Il vento irato, con gran furia, e rabbia,
 Quando di fuoco il cor mi facea l' ira,
 Tremava intorno a me tutta la terra,
 Stupida, come l' occhio, che il Sol mira.

(a) *Lingoni, e Nervj.* Popoli della Gallia Belgica espressi dal Poeta co' nomi antichi, i primi de' quali oggi sono chiamati *Langres*, ed i secondi *Bavarj*. Nel *Mss.* poi non si può leggere il principio del terzo verso perchè è roso dal tempo, ma da quello, che si può da' vestigi rimasi comprendere, e dall' ordine del discorso ancora, si nominavi un'altro di que' popoli circonvicini.

Vinsi Sanniti, e Fidenati in guerra,
 Toscani, Volsci, Campani, e Sabini,
 E ciò, ch' Abruzzo, e la Calabria serva;
 E coronai allor gli aurati crini,
 Portando ancor di Romolo la gonna,
 E chiusa essendo tra stretti confini;
 Quattro altri Regi poi mi fecer Donna (a)
 Di grand' Imperio, e giunsero al mio fianco,
 Per sostentarmi, una salda Colonna.
 Era quel popol sì gagliardo, e franco,
 Che non durava alcun sotto sua forza,
 Nè mai fu visto per battaglia stanco.
 Ma ben conosco che presto s'ammorza
 Ogni fama mortal, et ogni gloria
 Al fin si trova aver secca la scorza.
 Colui, che celebrato in ogni Istoria
 Più non è meco, Cesar glorioso,
 Che acquisteria, come solea, vittoria.
 O Scipion magnanimo, e famoso,
 Se tu vedesti Roma tua meschina,
 Tu piangeresti il caso doloroso,
 A terra cade con furia, e ruina
 Ogni Tempio sacrato, ogni edifizio;
 La Starna è data al Falcon in rapina;
 O severo Catone, o buon Fabrizio,
 La Patria tua dolente, stanca, e lassa
 Non trova un sol del ver sangue Patrizio.
 Un crudel Annibal, Fabio, conquassa
 Il seggio de' tuoi lieti, e antiqui Patri,
 E non è chi per lui la lancia abbassa.
 Portici, Curie, Pretorii, e Teatri,
 Torri, Rocche, Colossi, aurati Tetti
 Lochi presto saranno inculti, et atri;
 Feste, canti, piacer, giochi, e dilette,
 Ogni solazzo, ogni piacevolezza,

(a) *Donna*. Il Poeta si serve del numero definito di quattro Re per esprimere tutti gli altri Re, che in breve tempo Roma domò, soggiogata ch' ebbe l' Italia con difficili, e lunghe guerre.

Muteransi in affanni, ire, e dispetti.
 Lassa, Signor, omai questa durezza,
 Conforta la tua Eccelsa Signoria,
 Che fuor mi cavi di tanta tristezza :
 Non comportar, che il Figliuol di Maria
 Veda il Vicario suo con tanta furia
 Cacciar da gente truculenta, e ria.
 Abbraccia (a) Alfonso tuo, che la mia curia
 Si sforza d' esaltar, come ognun vede,
 E vendecarmi di sì grave ingiuria.
 Non ti fidar, che non si trova fede
 In barbarico cor senza pietate,
 Nato a sangue, tumulto, incendio, e prede.
 Difendi la tua dolce libertate ;
 Non patir mai, che il fier Biscion si alloggia,
 E il Gallo appresso della tua Cittate ;
 Che il mondo andar vedresti a un' altra foggia.
 Sai, che la Serpe per natura tiene
 Da velenar ciascuno in cui s' appoggia.
 Non temar poi, che teco armato viene
 (b) Francesco illustre di Casa Gonzaga,
 Che collocato ha in te tutta sua spene.
 Credi alla mente mia di ben presaga,
 Che questo a noi sarà come Camillo,
 Un' altra volta a me di pianger vaga.
 Movi il vittorioso, e bel vesillo,
 Augustin, anzi agosto, inclito, e sacro,
 E farai il mar a tua posta tranquillo ;
 Non si può, senza il tuo chiaro lavacro,
 Questa macchia purgar, e levar alto
 Il mondo, or di valor sì nudo, e macro ;

(a) *Alfonso tuo.* Alfonso Re de Napoli, il quale era successo nel Regno poco tempo prima a Ferdinando suo Padre morto di dolore, vedendo, che già Carlo VIII. contro di lui se ne veniva.

(b) *Francesco.* Vuol dire, che Francesco Gonzago Signor di Mantova aveva posta la speranza della sicurezza del suo Stato nell' armi de' Veneziani, che l' avrebbero difeso dal comun nemico. Notisi poi come il detto Gonzago fu fatto da' Veneziani Capo della Lega conchiusa contra Carlo VIII.

Rompi Venezia ormai lo duro smalto,
Che come Brescia, Padoa, e Verona
Pigliasti già con glorioso assalto,
Ancora in capo porterai corona
Di tutta Italia, e di Francia, e di Spagna,
Ch' alla giustizia il Ciel ogni ben dona ;
Io sempre a te sarò fedel compagna,
Finchè l' Imperio mio durerà in vita :
Chi acquista vera fede assai guadagna.
Vieni a sanarmi la crudel ferita ;
Viridomauro, e Bren caccia in esilio,
Che m' ha contra ragion tanto smarrita.
Facendo adunque ogni Città concilio
Per domandar a te, Signor, soccorso,
Mi rendo certo, che, col tuo consilio,
Hai destinato di frenar il corso
Alla turba, che va senza ragione,
E porre a tal, che non si pensa, il morso ;
Ond' io che son divoto al tuo Leone,
Vorrei seguirlo, e sotto al tuo Stendardo
Star, fin ch' io fossi in vita, al paragone.
Che benchè ognun di me sia più gagliardo,
Io so che almanco son servo fedele ;
Non lassa esser la fede al vecchio tardo.
Ricordati, Signor, quanto amar fele
Gustai, per star a te servir intento,
E non voler mutar le prime vele,
E movermi per oro, e per argento,
In prigion a Milan con tanto strazio,
Che fino al giorno d' oggi ancor ne sento ;
Ma per questo non son di servir sazio
A te, Signor, anzi non sarò mai
Finchè avrò della vita qualche spazio.
Io son stato senz' arme intorno assai ;
Quando era l' ozio al tempo della pace
Portato ho con silenzio li miei guai,
Per dimostrar, che non era rapace
Del suo stipendio, e dedito al tesoro.

Or che s' accende il foco, e la fornace,
 Ti prego, che nel forte e fedel coro
 De' Condottieri eccelsi, e degni Eroi,
 M' accetti, e arrendi il trionfal alloro;
 Che facilmente lo puoi far se vuoi:
 E dei voler, perchè mia fede il vole,
 E l' ordin degli antiqui, e forti Eroi.
 Colui cerca far fatti, e non parole,
 Che vedendo in battaglia Marte andare
 Vol seguir lui, come Aquila fa il sole.
 Desidero vederti trionfare
 In pompa, in gloria, e tanto ho acceso il core,
 Che per te voglio la morte abbracciare;
 Che morte non estima un vero Amore.

No. XXXIV.

(Page 209.)

*Diary of Burchard, from Gordon's Hist. of Alexander VI.
in App.*

Capitula Conventionis Papæ et Regis Franciæ, &c.

DOMINICA XI. mensis Januarii conclusum fuit et delibera-
 tum inter S. D. N. et Illustriss. D. Philippum de Bressa
 avunculum Regis Franciæ locum tenentem ejusdem Regis,
 quod S. D. N. assignare debet, Gem Sultan, fratrem magni
 Turcæ ad sex Menses Regi Franciæ, qui ex nunc solvere
 deberet Papæ xx. millia ducatorum, et dare *Cautionem*
Mercatorum Florentinorum et Venetorum, de restituendo
 ipsum Gem Sultan, ipsi Papæ, elapsis sex Mensibus, sine
 mora. Item *coronare Regem Franciæ Regem Neapolita-*
num sine prejudicio, et facere securos, Cardinales S. Petri
 ad Vineula, Gurcensem, Sabellum, et Columnam de non
 offendendo eos: pro quorum securitatis declaratione debe-
 rent convenire in sero illius diei coram Reverendo D. Car-
 dinale Alexandrino, Rever. in Christo Patres D. D. Bartho-
 lomæus Nepesinus et Sutrinus Secretarius, et Jo. Perusinus

Episcopus Datarius, nomine Papæ; et D. de Bressa et de Montpensier et D. Johannes de Gannay primus Præsidens Parliamenti Parisiensis. Sed Cardinalis Sancti Petri ad Vincula, et Gurcensis, intellecta conclusione sine eis quæsta et facta, conquesti sunt Regi de pactis ipsis per eum non servatis, cum ipsis promississet per coronam regiam, sine eorum scitu et voluntate cum Pontifice non velle concordare vel aliquid concludere. Et hoc modo conclusionem hujusmodi, et ne illi ad Rev. Cardinalem Alexandrinum venirent impediverunt.

Feria secunda, duodecima Januarii, Rex Franciæ equitavit per urbem solus, et illam videndi causa, quem associavit Rev. Cardinalis S. Dionysii longe post Regem, cum aliis nobilibus equitans: inter ipsum et Regem equitabat quidam Capitaneus peditum custodiæ Regis circa ipsum incendium, curam habens quod pedites sequerentur: Sequebatur Cardinalis cum nobilibus aliis. Sequenti die, 18 Januarii, Rex equitavit ad Sanctum Sebastianum ab istis etiam associatus. Aliis sequentibus diebus alibi pro libito suæ voluntatis. Feria sexta, octava decima dicti mensis Januarii, bono mane recesserunt ex urbe Rev. Ascanius Vice-cancellarius, et de Lunate, Cardinales, Mediolanum ituri, ut a nonnullis asserebatur. Eodem die in mane, Rex Franciæ equitavit ad Basilicam S. Petri, ubi audita missa in capella Sanctæ Petronillæ per unum ex capellanis suis, si recte memini sine cantu, missa celebrata, ascendit ad Palatium Papæ, ad cameras novas pro eo paratas, ubi fecit prandium; deinde circa horam vigesimam Papa portatus fuit per deambulatorium discoopertum in * rocclioso et capucino, Cruce præcedente, quam portavit Dominus Raphael Diaconus Capellæ cum nullus adesset Subdiaconus Apostolicus, de Castro ad Palatium præfatum. Rex adventum Papæ intelligens occurrit ei usque circa finem secundi horti secreti, de quo ad dictum deambulatorium ascendit, deinde Cardinales secuti sunt Regem, qui tunc cum eo præsentibus erant, et ipsi Papam expectantes; Papa cum esset in plano horti prædicti præcesserunt Cardinales Regem usque ad Pontificem. Rex viso Pontifice ad spatium duarum cannarum genu flexit bis

successive, competenti distantia, quod Papa finxit se non videre; sed cum Rex pro tertia genuflexione facienda appropinquaret, Papa deposuit biretum suum, et occurrit Regi ad tertiam genuflexionem venienti, ac eum tenuit ne genuflecteretur et deosculatus est eum. Ambo detectis capitibus erant, *sicque Rex, nec Pedem nec Manum Papæ deosculatus est*, Papa noluit reponere biretum suum, nisi prius se tegeret Rex; tandem simul capita cooperuerunt, Pontifice, manum bireto Regis ut cooperiretur apponente. Rex quam primum a Pontifice, ut præmittitur, receptus fuit, rogavit Papam, velle pronunciare Cardinalem, Episcopum Macloviensem Consiliarium suum, quod Papa dixit se facturum, mandans mihi, quod ad effectum hujusmodi cappam unam cardinalem, et capellum reperirent; cappam mutavit Cardinalis Sanctæ Anastasiæ. Rex existimans ibidem id statim fieri debere, interrogavit me ubinam et quando Papa esset expediturus, respondi, in camera Papagalli, ad quam continuo ibant.

Papa sinistra manu Regis dextram accipiens, eum duxit usque ad dictam cameram Papagalli; ubi antequam intraret, finxit se Pontifex Syncopa turbari, intus autem pervento Papa sedit super sedem bassam ante fenestras ibi apportatam, et Rex juxta eum supra scabellum; pro quo continuo sedem Suæ Sanctitatis similem fecit apportare, me autem instante, repugnante, et sessionem hujusmodi nequaquam convenire asserente; Papa ascendit ad sedem eminentem Consistorialem, et ibi, ordinante me, positam, dimissis prius bireto et capucino rubro, et acceptis bireto et capucino albo, et stola prætiosa, posita fuit sedes Papæ cameralis ante dextram suam in qua sedit Rex, retro sedem Regis et ante in modum coronæ posita scabella pro Cardinalibus, in quibus sederunt Cardinales. Papa noluit sedere, nisi prius Rex sederet, quem manu coegit prius sedere. Deinde sedit Rev. D. Cardinalis Neapolitanus, et sedit ad dextram Papæ juxta murum in scabello, prout sedere solet Diaconus Cardinalis a dextris in Capella Papæ existens; alii Cardinales ordine Consistoriali post eum seu prius ad ante eum, *sicque Rex non sedit recta linea inter Cardinales, sed ante eos, seu in*

medio eorum. Omnibus sic sedentibus, Papa dixit, nuper se vota omnium Cardinalium habuisse pro creatione Rev. D. Episcopi Macloviensis in sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem, quem Majestas Regis ibidem præsens instanter fieri supplicaverat, et ipse facere paratus erat ipsis Cardinalibus complacentibus. Respondit Rev. D. Cardinalis Neapolitanus, et post eum alii, in eandem sententiam, quod non solum id ipsis placeret, sed fieri supplicarent pro Regis honore et voluntate. Tunc vocatus per me præfatus Dominus Macloviensis Cardinalis Gulielmus Briçonnetus, depositis ibi mantello et capucino de ciambelotto nigro et bireto nigro, induit ipsum Cappa Cardinalis Valentiniensis, in qua coram Papa genu flexit, qui detecto capite ex ceremoniali, pronunciavit ipsum Cardinalem per verba, auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei, &c. et Ecclesiam Macloviensem, et singula ac omnia monasteria et beneficia Ecclesiastica, quæ prius in titulum et commendam obtinebat, sibi commendavit: Macloviensis osculatus est pedem et manum Papæ, et a Pontifice elevatus, ad oris osculum est receptus, tunc iterum genuflexit, et Papa imposuit capiti suo Capellum rubrum verbis in Ceremoniali positus. Quo facto Macloviensis egit gratias Pontifici, qui dixit Regi agendas esse, coram quo Rege ipse Macloviensis genuflexus, immemor novæ dignitatis adeptæ, et Episcopalis, egit ei gratias: sic flexus surrexit et a singulis Cardinalibus ad oris osculum receptus est: mantellum præfato Domino Macloviensi exutum receperunt sui, nec me advertente, Dominus Jacobus de Casanova et Franciscus Alabagnes, secreti cubicularii, et sibi indebite usurparunt et retinuerunt: Capucinum autem et biretum ego retinui. Interim surrexit Pontifex, et dixit se velle Regem usque ad regias Cameras associare: sed Rex id fieri omnino recusans, fuit ab omnibus Cardinalibus associatus ad hujusmodi cameram, iter faciens per cameras paramenti et omnes Aulas et deambulatorium Rev. Domini Cardinalis Sanctæ Anastasiæ, et Aulam et Cameras novas ad quas ipse erat inhabitaturus. Ibat autem Rex medius inter Neapolitanum a dextris, et Sancti Clementis Cardinales a sinistris, Cardinalibus omnibus binis et suo ordine sequentibus.

Pervento ad *quartam* prædictam, Rex egit gratias Cardinalibus, qui ab eo recesserunt omnes, dempto S. Dionysii et Macloviensi, usque ad Cameram sibi deputatam, quæ fuit olim D. Falconis, quam cum non possent intrare defectu servitorum claves habentium, iverunt ad Cameram Episcopi Concordiensis, ubi aliquandiu manserunt, tum venerunt ad cameram Domini Macloviensis prædictam, ubi ante ostium Cardinalis Sancti Dionysii ab eo licentiatus discessit. Porta prima Palatii et omnia alia aditum ad Regem præbentia data fuerunt Scotis pro custodia Regis deputatis, qui non permittebant nisi suos aut paucissimos ex nostris intrare; interfuerunt præmissis 14. Cardinales, videlicet Rev. Dominus Neapolitanus Episcopus; S. Clementis, Parmensis, S. Anastasiæ, Montis Regalis, Ursinus, S. Dionysii, Alexandrinus, Carthaginensis, Presbyteri; Sancti Georgii, S. Severini, Valentinus, Cæsarinus et Germanus, Diaconi. Dedi eadem die Rev. Domino Macloviensi Informationem competentem de strenis consuetis persolvendis, per schedulam hujusmodi tenoris:

Cubiculariis secretis S. D. N. ducatorum centum	-	d.	100
Scutifero Capelli	- - - - -	d.	100
Magistris Cæremoniarum, ad voluntatem suam	-	d.	
Servientibus Armorum	- - - - -	d.	15
Magistris Officiariis	- - - - -	d.	15
Portæ ferreæ custodibus	- - - - -	d.	6
Custodibus Portæ Primæ	- - - - -	d.	3
Custodibus horti secreti	- - - - -	d.	3
Custodibus S. D. N. Papæ	- - - - -	d.	10

Summa ducat. 252

Dominica, 18 Januarii, le Pape dit aut Maistre des Ceremonies qu'il tiendroît consistoire pour la reception du Roy de France, et comme il la falloît faire. Comme le Pape parloit de cela, le Roy survint, le Pape le fust recevoir et là parlerent de la restitution du Turc. L'article portoit que le Roy donneroit fidejussores nobiles Barones et Prelatos Regni

ad voluntatem Pontificis ; le premier President de Gannay vouloit restraindre à dix personnes, le Pape en vouloit trente ou 40. Ils contesterent sur cela 3. heures. Sur cela le Pape entra en une sale, ou il avoit de chaires, il fist seoir le Roy dans l' une, et luy dans l' autre, là le traicté fust leu, et de la part du Pape il y avoit les Cardinaux de S. Anastase et Alexandrin, et pour le Roy les Cardinaux de S. Dennis et S. Malo ; les deux Secretaires du Pape, et le Dataire et peu d' autres ; et furent leu les articles du Traicté ; le Notaire pour le Pape nommé Stephanus de Narnia et celui pour le Roy Oliverius Yvon Clericus Cænomanensis. Il fust faict deux Copies du Traicté, en François pour le Roy, et en Latin pour le Pape.

19 Janvier, 1495. Destinè pour la reception du Roy et l' obedience. Le Maistre des Ceremonies envoyé au Roy luy dire ce qu'il avoit a faire, circa osculationem pedis Papæ, et obedientiam præstandam, de loco inter Cardinales seu post primum Cardinalem. Rex ipse cum suis decrevit ibi non sedere, sed apud Pontificem in solio stans, aliqua pauca verba præstationis obedientiæ proferre. Le Roy dit qu'il vouloit ouir la Messe a S. Pierre, puis disner, et de là aller veoir le Pape, et on ne peut rien obtenir de plus sur cela. Le Pape tint conseil ; de là vint in cameram Papagalli fort preparè, puis en la salle du consistoire public. Les Cardinaux Alexandrin et de Carthage eurent ordre d'aller au devant du Roy. Le Pape ne voulut pas que celui de S. Malo le dernier des Cardinaux en fust, quoy que ce fust l' ordre, mais parce qu'il estoit creature du Roy, il crut luy faire plus d' honneur. Le Pape envoya donc ces Cardinaux avertir le Roy, qui le trouverent disnant. Le Roy adverty que l'on l'attendoit, interrogea le Maistre des Ceremonies de ce qu'il falloit faire, et l'ayant escoutè, il alla dans une autre chambre, ou il tint conseil une demie heure, fit appeller le dit Maistres des Ceremonies, et lui demanda encore une fois ce qu'il falloit faire, qui luy repeta ; et de là alla trouver les deux Cardinaux et Evesque qui l'attendoient. Le Roy donc fust au consistoire avec ces Cardinaux, et medius inter eos, suivy des Princes et Grands Francois, Philippus Dom. de

Bressa, Dom. de Montpensier, Dom. de Foix, Dux Cliviæ, Dux Ferrariæ, et alii plures. Rege veniente, Papa assumpsit pretiosam mitram, Rex fecit debitas reverentias in terram, primam in introitu Consistorii, secundam in plano ante solium Papæ, tertiam in solio ante Papam, ubi genuflexus pedem dein Papæ manum osculatus, quem Papa elevans, ad oris osculum recepit. Rex stans ad sinistram Papæ, tunc Dominus Johannes de Gannay Præses Parliamenti Parisiensis coram Pontifice venit, et genuflexus exposuit Regem ad præstandam obedientiam Sanctitati suæ personaliter advenisse; velle tamen prius tres gratias a sua Sanctitate petere, esse consuetum vassallos ante eorum præstationem sive homagium investire; petebat propterea 1^o. omnia privilegia Christianissimo Regi, ejus conjugii et primogenito concessa, et omnia in quodam libro cujus titulum specificabat contenta confirmari; 2^o. ipsum Regem de Regno Neapolitano investire; 3^o. de dando fidejussores de restituendo fratre magni Turci inter alia heri stipulatum cassari et aboleri. Pontifex ad hæc respondit se confirmare hujusmodi primo petita quatenus essent in usu. Ad 2. quod agitur de præjudicio tertii, propterea oportere, cum concilio Cardinalium super hoc maturius deliberare, et in eo velle, pro posse suo, Regi complacere. Ad 3. velle esse cum ipso rege et Sacro Cardinalium Collegio, non dubitans concordem futuros. Qua responsione facta, Rex stans ad sinistram Papæ protulit hæc verba: *Saint Pere; Je suis venu pour faire obedience et reverence a vostre Sainteté comme ont accustume de faire mes predecesseurs, Roys de France.* Quibus dictis, dictus Præses adhuc genuflexus surrexit, et stans coram Pontifice verba Regis Latine extendit, his verbis.

Beatissime Pater; consueverunt Principes, et præsertim Francorum Reges Christianissimi, per suos Oratores Apostolicam sedem, et in ea pro tempore sedentem, venerari. Christianissimus vero Rex, Apostolorum Limina visitaturus, id non per Oratores et Legatos suos facere sed in propria persona voluntatem suam ostendere volens, statuit observare. Vos igitur, Pater Beatissime, Christianorum, summum Pontificem, verum Christi Vicarium, Apostolorum,

Petri et Pauli successorem, fatetur, et deditam reverentiam et obedientiam, quam Prædecessores sui, Francorum Reges, summis Pontificibus facere consueverunt, vobis præstat, seque et omnia sua Sanctitati vestræ et huic Sanctæ sedi offert.

Papa sedens, et sinistra manu sua Regis dextram tenens, respondit brevissime et convenienter propositis, Regem ipsum in suo responsorio hujusmodi primogenitum filium suum appellans. Interim dum præmissa fierent, accesserunt ad solium Pontificis omnes Cardinales cum confusione propter Gallorum impetum et insolentiam. Completa Pontificis responsione, surrexit Papa, et sinistra manu sua Regem apprehendens, ad Cameram Papagalli reversus est, ubi depositis sacris vestibus, fingit Regem ipsum velle associare. Rex illi gratias agens ad cameram suam rediit, a nullo Cardinalium associatus. Interfuerunt omnibus præmissis 20 Cardinales.

Le 20 Janvier, le jour de S. Sebastien, le Pape voulut célébrer Pontificalement la Messe en faveur du Roy; le Roy avant que d'y aller voulut disner, et le Pape l'attendit un quart d'heure, et vint enfin assisté de sa noblesse sans armes: ses gardes demeurèrent hors la chapelle. Rex ex commissione Papæ sedit in sede nuda cum cussino de brocato tantum. Ordinatis pro ministranda aqua manibus Episcopi, de Pontificis voluntate Rege D. D. de Foix, Bresse et Montpensier, tamen quia eorum præcedentia mihi ignota erat, communicavi id Regi, quem interrogavi si ipse dare aquam vellet; respondit id libenter facturum, si Regibus conveniret; de aliis tribus quod digniorem locum D. de Bresse, 2^o. D. de Foix; primo igitur dedit aquam D. de Foix, 2^o. de Montpensier, 3^o. Dominus de Bresse, 4^o. Rex cui portari feci *bachilia et credentia Papæ* per Dominum de Ligni camerarium suum secretum, qui singulis noctibus cum Rege solet dormire; et ego portavi *tobaliam pro collo* usque ad gradus solii Papæ, ubi Regi ipsam imposui; et acceptis per Regem bacilibus, ascendit ad Papam, et dedit stans aquam manibus Papæ; qui voluit quod ipse Rex de aqua credentiam faceret. Papa aquam post communionem, accepit de

manibus Regis Francorum. De multis interrogavit me Rex quid hoc esset; declaravi singula ut potui, replicavit Rex ut clarius exponerem; nihilominus non cessavit repetere, et non potui illi semper satisfacere.

22 Janvier, le Cardinal de Gurce reconcilié avec le Pape en receut la Benediction, et culpam suam Pontifici agnovit; sed in præsentia Cardinalium de Ursinis, et Sancti Georgii crimina Pontifici objecit; Simoniam, peccatum carnis, informationem Magno Turco missam et mutuam intelligentiam; asserens ipsum Pontificem magnum simulatorem et verum deceptorem esse, si sui verum mihi retulerunt. 28 Janvier, post prandium le Pape monta à Cheval et le conduisit aussy, et furent à la place de Sainte Pierre, le Roy de France s'y trouva; qui cum Papa biretum deposuisset * amovit etiam Papa capellum et biretum, nec voluit Papa illa prius reponere, quam Rex caput suum cooperuisset; tenuit Papa continuo Regem a sinistris; Dom. de Bressa continuo equitavit ad sinistram Regis; sicque Regem medium posuit inter se et Papam; Omnes alii Principes et Nobiles equitarunt immediate post Regem, et post eos gentes sui armorum. 28 Janvier, Gem Sultan Frater Magni Turcæ, equester de Castro Sancti Angeli associatus fuit usque ad Palatium S. Marci, et ibidem Regi Francorum assignatus. Erecta fuerunt per urbem duo patibula, unum in Campo Floræ, alterum in platea Judæorum per officiales Regis Franciæ, et per eos ministrabatur justitia, non per officiales Papæ, et mandata publica sive banni per urbem fiebant sub nomine dicti Regis, et non sub nomine Papæ. Rex finxit se velle pedes Papæ deosculari, Papa autem non voluit. Cardinalis Valentinus dedit Regi sex pulcherrimos equos in frenis sine sellis. Rex cum Cardinali Valentino a sinistra Regis equitante equitarunt recta via ad Marinum; eodem sero secutus est Regem Cardinalis Gurgensis, Frater quoque Magni Turci.

No. XXXV.

(Page 210.)

*Mém. de l' Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii.**Acte de Cession d' André Paleologue en faveur de
Charles VIII.*

IN nomine Omnipotentis Dei, et individuae Trinitatis. Anno a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi 1494. Pontificatu Sanctissimi D. N. Alexandri, divina providentia P. P. VI. Inde. XI. mense Septembris, die Sabati sexto. Pateat omnibus hoc presens publicum instrumentum inspecturis, qualiter in conspectu et praesentia Rev. in Christo Patris Domini Raymundi tituli Sancti Vitalis Praesbiteri Cardinalis *Gurcens.* vulgariter nuncupati, et nostrorum notariorum publicorum, ac testium infra scriptorum, ad haec convocatorum et adhibitorum, personaliter constitutus illustris Dominus Andreas Paleologus Dispotus Moreorum, asserens et affirmans se immediatum successorem Imperii Constantino-politani, et ad ipsum ut filium fratris majorem natu per obitum quondam bonae memoriae Constantini Paleologi sui Patruis sine liberis defuncti, jure successionis obvenisse, ac debitum fuisse et esse; et post lacrimabilem tanti Imperii ammissionem, et Christianorum excidium, ac postquam in potestatem impiorum hostium nostrae fidei, ac Turcorum regis servitutem pervenit, etiam ipsum a suo regno Moreae seu Peloponesso, cujus tunc Dispotus erat, dejectum, spoliatumque extitisse, et jam annos 30 et ultra a sua patria et regno profugum se exulasse, pro cujus Imperii, et Regnorum ab immanissimo Turcorum praedone debellatorum et occupatorum recuperatione, ab omnibus Christianae religionis principibus ac potentatibus, totum fere terrarum orbem peragrand, opem auxiliumque implorasse, et nihil intentatum reliquisse: et cum jam omni fere spe destitutus esse videretur, ad suas aures gloriosam famam invicti Francorum Regis, ac Christianissimi principis Caroli, qui veluti alter Carolus Magnus, ex coelo missus, divino aspirante numine, divitibus Regnis et prole parva et conjuge et patria sua re-

lictis, pro universa Christianorum fidelium tutela quam cæteri potentates longa quadam desidia deseruerunt, justa et sancta arma capere, et invadendum profligandumque crudelissimum Christianorum hostem, proprium caput objicere non trepidavit, nullis parcendo laboribus, omnibusque se periculis exponendo; cujus tam ingentis expeditionis, ac gloriosæ provinciæ stupore, simul ac incredibili affectus lætitia, jam spem ammissam resumens, etiam rei suæ bene prospereque gerendæ, hinc sibi occasionem offerri existimans, planeque intelligens hunc tam excelsi animi Regem, non minus consilio quam viribus pollere, et cœptis, foelicissimisque signis favente Deo, Turcorum potentiam non modo retundere, sed penitus profligare ac pessundare, et subditos illi populos a misero diuturnæ servitutis jugo vindicare, et pristinæ libertati restituere posse; hac spe elatus, secum animo cogitans, quod a se tanto principe dignum, in tanta ac tam foelici expeditione præstari posset, vel quod suæ Celsitudini placeret vel quod ad rem foeliciter gerendam, hostesque ipsos Turcos facilius debellandos conduceret, et summæ ipsius gloriæ ac supremis honoribus accederet; tametsi quod se Imperium ipsum Constantinopolitanum pro derelicto quodammodo haberetur, cum tamen pro deperdito numquam habitum fuisset, tantoque Imperio ipsum invictum Francorum Regem omnibus aliis præferendum esse dijudicans; Deo Optimo, bonorum operum Fautore, sic in ejus mente aspirante, in animo suo, nullo alio promovente, *constituit ac decrevit jus omne quod habet ad dictum Constantinopolitanum Imperium, in ipsum Serenissimum ac Christianissimum Regem liberaliter transferre, et cedere.* Quocirca idem illustris D. Andreas Paleologus Dispotus constitutus ut supra, nullo juris aut facti errore ductus, ex sua mera libera et spontanea voluntate, gratuitaque liberalitate, ex certa animi sui scientia, deliberatoque proposito, et causis et rationibus supra expressis, *irrevocanda donatione, quæ dicitur inter vivos largiendo donavit, et titulo donationis transtulit, cessit, concessit ac mandavit Serenissimo ac Christianissimo Carolo, Dei gratia Francorum Regi, absentis, et nobis notariis et publicis personis, præsentibus recipientibus ac legitime stipulantibus pro ipso Serenissimo*

ac Christianissimo Rege, et suis in regno legitimis successoribus omnia et singula jura, quæ habuit et habet in supradicto Imperio Constantinopolitano, ac Trapeguntino, et Dispotatu Cerviano, cum omni plenitudine quarumcunque potestatum, et jurisdictionum, tam dictæ Regiæ Civitatis Constantinopolitanæ, quam aliarum quarumcunque Civitatum, et cum omnibus potentatibus, Dispotatibus, Ducatibus, Comitatibus, præeminentiis, insignibus, privilegiis, prærogativis, et cum omnibus adhærentiis, pertinentiis, usibus, utilitatibus, commoditatibus, membris et adjentiatis quibuscunque, ad dictum Imperium et Dispotatus, Civitates et Potentatus, Ducatus et Comitatus spectantibus et pertinentibus, tam de jure quam de consuetudine, et per alios suos auctores et superiores Imperatores Christianos possideri solitas et consuetas, et cum omnibus feudis et locis feudalibus et superioritatibus et immutatibus, necnon actionibus realibus et personalibus, utilibus et directis, civilibus et prætoriis, hypothecariis seu mixtis et in rem scriptis; reservato sibi tamen jure Dispotatus Moreæ, seu Peloponnensis Provinciæ, cum omnibus juribus et præeminentiis ipsius Dispotatus, nullo alio jure, nullaque alia actione sibi aut suis successoribus in his quomodolibet reservatis; Constituens ipsum Serenissimum et Christianissimum Regem in locum jus et privilegium ipsius Donatoris, ac etiam constituens eundem procuratorem, ut in rem suam propriam; ita quod pro dictis juribus agat, excipiat, utatur, experiatur utilibus et directis actionibus, et quantum in ipso Donatore facultas existat et extendatur dedit eidem Serenissimo Regi potestatem ac facultatem intrandi, capiendi, retinendi possessionem dicti totius Imperii, Dispotatum et potentatum et Civitatum, propria ipsius Serenissimi et Christianissimi Regis et suorum legitimorum successorum auctoritate, et absque alicujus alterius jurisdictionem habentis licentia. Quam quidem possessionem donec corporaliter et naturaliter nactus fuerit et apprehenderit, constituit idem Donator se tenere et possidere nomine ipsius Serenissimi et Christianissimi Regis et suorum legitimorum successorum prædictorum; nobis Notariis præsentibus recipientibus et legitime stipulantibus, ut supra; asserens idem Illustris Dom. Dis-

potus Donator dicta jura donata ad eum spectasse ac spectare, et nulli alteri donata, cessa, concessa, seu aliter alienata extitisse in totum, vel pro parte. Promittens etiam hujusmodi, et omnia et singula contenta in ea, ratam et rata, grata et firma habere, et perpetuo tenere, et ipsam non revocare ex aliqua causa, et maxime supervenientia liberorum, nec aliter contra facere, dicere, vel venire, sub poena perjurii; et renunciavit expresse, etiam sub religione et vinculo juramenti, solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris scripturis in manibus nostrorum Notariorum, solemnitali a jure introductæ insinuationis de donatione hujusmodi fiendæ, quatenus ipsam insinuare oporteat. Et nihilominus ad majorem abundantiorumque cautelam Procuratorem constituit eundem Revm. Dom. Raymundem Cardinalem *Gurcens.* ad comparandum ipsius constituentis nomine coram quocunque ordinario iudice Ecclesiastico vel Seculari cujuscunque fori, quem ipse elegerit, cui plenam facultatem dedit eligendi quemcunque sibi placuerit iudicem, in quem ex nunc expresse consensit ac consentiit, quoad hunc voluntariæ jurisdictionis insinuationis fiendæ, suo et dicto nomine dictam insinuationem solemniter faciendum cum expressa ratificatione, nec non ad petendum hujusmodi donationem in actis publicis redigi, mandari, et solemne decretum interponendi, ita quod perpetuas vires habeat et inviolabilis roboris firmitatem obtineat, et nullo unquam tempore infringi possit, aut valeat, tam ex defectu insinuationis prædictæ quam ex alia causa, seu titulo, vel ex alio quocunque quæsito colore; Renuntians etiam omnibus aliis et singulis solemnitatibus, exceptionis juris vel facti, defensionibus quibus contra facere vel venire posset. Nobis Notariis præsentibus, recipientibus et legitime stipulantibus ut supra in omnibus et singulis capitulis præsentis contractus, pro dicto Serenissimo ac Christianissimo Rege et suis legitimis successoribus; de quibus omnibus et singulis rogati fuimus, ut publicum conficeremus instrumentum unum vel plura, et toties quoties opus fuerit.

Actum Romæ in Ecclesia S. Petri in Montorio post celebratam Missam Spiritus Sancti per præfatum Revm. Dom.

Cardinalem, ipsis Dmo. Cardinali, et Dmo. Dispoto existentibus inter duas sacratissimas Columnas, in quo loco Beatus Petrus Apostolorum princeps Sacri Martyrii coronam suscepit; præsentibus, audientibus, et intelligentibus videlicet; Venerab. viris Dom. Petro de Militibus, Domino Dominico de Rubæis Canonico Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, Nobilibus Civibus Romanis ac Dmo. Fratre Joanne Augustino Vercellens. Præposito Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de pace, et Dom. Fratre Jacobo Cremonens. ejusdem Ecclesiæ Vicario, Ordinis Canonorum Regularium Congregationis Lateranens. ac Fratre Francisco de Mediolano, Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci, residenti in dicta Ecclesia S. Petri, Testibus ad præmissa habitis et rogatis.

Et quia Ego Franciscus de Schracten de Florentia, Civis Romanus, Pontificali et etiam Imperiali auctoritatibus Notarius Publicus, de omnibus et singulis præmissis rogatus fui, uno cum præclaro U. J. Doctore Dom. Camillo de *Bene in Bene*, Civi et Notario Romano, hanc *Notam* manu mea propria scriptam et subscriptam per eundem dictum Camillum tenendam feci, et subscripsi in fidem, robur, et testimonium Veritatis.

No. XXXVI.

(Page 214.)

Opere Volgari di Sanazzaro.

SONETTO.

O DI rara virtù gran tempo albergo,
 Alma stimata, e posta fra gli dei;
 Or cieco abisso di vizj empj, e rei,
 Ove pensando sol, m' adombro, e mergo:
 Il nome tuo da quante carte vergo
 Sbandito fia; che più ch' i' non vorrei,
 E' per me noto; ond' or da' versi miei
 Le macchie lavo, e 'l dir pulisco, e tergo.

Di tuoi chiari trionfi altro volume
 Ordì credea ; ma per tua colpa or manca ;
 Ch' augel notturno sempre abborre il lume.
 Dunque n' andrai tutta assetata, e stanca,
 A ber l' obbligo dell' infelice fiume ;
 E rimarrà la carta illesa, e bianca.

SONETTO.

SCRIVA di te chi far gigli, e viole,
 Del seme spera di pungenti urtiche,
 Le stelle 'al ciel veder tutte nemiche,
 E con l' Aurora in occidente il Sole.
 Scriva chi fama al mondo aver non vuole ;
 A cui non fur giammai le Muse amiche :
 Scriva chi perder vuole le sue fatiche,
 Lo stil, l' ingegno, il tempo, e le parole.
 Scriva chi bacca in lauro mai non colse :
 Chi mai non giunse a quella rupe estrema,
 Nè verde fronda alle sue tempie avvolse.
 Scriva in vento, ed in acqua il suo poema
 La man che mai per te la penna tolse ;
 E caggia il nome, e poca terra il prema.

No. XXXVII.

(Page 214.)

Opere di Antonio Tibaldeo. Ed. Ven. 1534.

SONETTO.

SE gran thesor, se inespugnabil mura,
 Se squadre, e un capitan de astuto ingegno,
 Havesser forza a mantenere un regno,
 De Napoli havria Alphonso anchor la cura.
 Qualunque regnar vuol senza paura,
 Cerchi l' amor de i populi, e no il sdegno,
 Che chi se fonda sopra altro sostegno
 Per qualche tempo, ma non molto dura.

Scorno eterno a l' Italico paese,
 Quando fia letto, che un regno sì forte
 Contra Francesi non si tenne un mese!
 Sagunto che Annibale havea a le porte,
 Per Roma, fin che puote si difese,
 Che per Principe buon dolce par morte.

No. XXXVIII.

(Page 214.)

Marulli Op. Ed. Paris. 1561.

AD CAROLUM REGEM FRANCIE.

INVICTE magni Rex Caroli genus,
 Quem tot virorum tot superum piæ
 Sortes jacentes vindicemque
 Justitiæ, fideique poscunt:
 Quem mœsta tellus Ausonis hinc vocat,
 Illinc solutis Græcia crinibus,
 Et quicquid immanis profanat
 Turca Asiæ, Syriæque pinguis;
 Olim virorum patria et artium,
 Sedesque vera ac religio Deum,
 Nunc Christianæ servitutis
 Dedecus, opprobriumque turpe.
 Quid Cœlitum ultro fata vocantia
 Morare segnis? non ideo tibi
 Victoriarum tot repente
 Dii facilem tribuere palmam;
 Primisque in annis et puero, et patris
 Favore casso, tot populos feros
 Ad usque pugnaces Britannos,
 Alpibus Allobrogum ab nivosis,
 Jussere victos tendere brachia;
 Si te decori gloria splendidi
 Nil tangit, immensumque in ævum

Nomina per populos itura ;
 At supplicantum tot misere exulum,
 Sordesque tangant, et lacrymæ piæ :
 At Christianorum relictæ
 Ossa tot, heu, canibus lupisque :
 Fœdisque tangat, relligio modis
 Spurcata Christi, sospite Galliæ
 Rectore te nobis potentis ;
 Cujus avum proavumque clara
 Virtus, furentem Barbariem unice
 Et Sarracenos contudit impetus,
 Cum sæva tempestas repente
 Missa quasi, illuviesque campis.
 Non occupatæ finibus Africæ
 Contenti Hiberi, non opibus soli,
 Sperare jam Gallos, et ipsum
 Ausi animis Rhodanum superbis.
 Sed nec bonorum tunc Superum favor
 Desideratus, nec tibi tam pia
 In bella eunti defuturus,
 Carle, moras modo mitte inertes.
 Occasionem et quam tribuunt cape :
 Æque nocentes dissimiles licet
 Gnarus, patrantem, quique possit
 Cum, scelus haud prohibet patrari.

 No. XXXIX.

(Page 216.)

Petri Criniti Op. p. 538.

AD FAUSTUM, DE CAROLO, REGE FRANCORUM, CUM AD
 URBEM TENDERET CUM EXERCITU.

QUID occupatum litteris urges tuis,
 Frustraque toties flagitas,
 Ut impotentis Galliæ fastum gravem,
 Regemque dicam Carolum ?

Satis superque, Fauste, dedimus lacrymis,
Clademque nostram luximus.
Et ecce rursus additur malis scelus,
Fovemus ipsi Galliam :
Ac studio inertī opes et omnem militem
Jungimus ad hostilem manum.
Irrepsit altum virus animis Italum,
Ac pervagatur latius.
Vides nefandis ut trahuntur odiis
Plerique Thuscorum duces ;
Et dum vicissim fluctuantes dimicant,
Bacchantur in cædem suam.
Sed interim Carolus ad urbis mœnia
Cum copiis victor agitur :
Audaxque monstrat militi Romam suo
Et comminatur patribus.
Intorquet hastam miles in flumen sacrum,
Patremque Tybrim despicit.
O prisca virtus, o senatus Romuli,
An hæc videtis Cæsares ?
Vidi moventem Martios fasces Jovem,
Et annuentem Barbaris.
Quantum hinc malorum, quantum adest incendii,
Quantum cruoris effluet?
Poenam rependet innocens Neapolis
Virtutis immemor suæ ;
Et occidet Aragoniæ clarum decus,
Sic Mars cruentus imperat :
Qui nunc feroces Galliæ turmas foveat,
Ridens inertes Italos.
Grave est videre, Fauste, quæ fata imperant.
Væ ! tibi, cave Neapolis.

No. XL.

(Page 218.)

Diary of Burchard, from Gordon's Hist. of Alex. VI. in App. (see also the Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 5.)

Instructions données par le Pape Alexandre au Nonce par luy envoyé à Sultan Bajazet, Empereur des Turcs.

Item Lettres du dit Sultan au dit Alexandre VI.

SUPERIORIBUS diebus, Cardinale Gurcense referente, Dominus Georgius Bosardus literarum Apostolicarum Scriptor per S. D. N. Papam ad magnum Turcam Nuncius Oratorque missus, ut ipse Cardinalis dicebat, per Illust. D. Joannem de Rovere Almæ Urbis præfectum, Illustrissimi D. Cardinalis S. Petri ad Vincula fratrem Germanum, captus fuit, et apud Senogalliam detentus, apud quem idem Cardinalis Gurcensis compertas fuisse dixit informationes per eundem Sanctum D. N. sibi datas, super iis quæ apud magnum Turcam agere deberet, quæ dictus Cardinalis Gurcensis Sanct. D. N. ad infamiam improbrabat, quarum informationum Nuntii et Oratoris ad magnum Turcam tenor.

Alexander Papa Sextus.

INSTRUCTIONES tibi Georgio Bosardo Nuntio et familiari nostro: postquam hinc recesseris, directe et quando citius poteris, ibis ad potentissimum magnum Turcam Sultan Bajazet ubicunque fuerit, quem postquam debite salutaveris, et ad Divini Numinis timorem et amorem excitaris, sibi significabis nomine nostro, qualiter Rex Franciæ properat cum maxima potentia terrestri et maritima cum auxilio status Mediolanensium, Britonum, Burdegalensium, Normandorum et cum aliis gentibus huc Romam veniens eripere e manibus nostris Gem Sultan, fratrem Celsitudinis suæ, et acquirere regnum Neapolitanum, et ejicere Regem Alphonsum cum quo sumus in strictissimo sanguinis gradu et am-

citia conjuncti, et tenemur eum defendere, cum sit feudatarius noster et annuatim solvat nobis censum ; et sunt anni sexaginta tres, et ultra quod fuit investitus Rex Alphonsus avus ejus, deinde Ferdinandus Pater, cui successit Rex, qui per prædecessores nostros et per nos fuerunt investiti et incoronati de dicto regno. Ideo hac de causa prædictus Rex Franciæ effectus inimicus noster, qui non solum properabit ut dictum Gem Sultan capiat et ipsum regnum acquirat, sed etiam in Græciam transfretare et patrias Celsitudinis suæ debellare queat, prout suæ M. innotescere debet : et dicunt quod mittant dictum Gem Sultan cum classe in Turchiam. Et cum nobis opus sit resistere et nos defendere a tanta Regis Franciæ Potentia, omnes conatus nostros exponere oportet, et se bene præparare ; quod cum jam fecerimus, opusque sit facere maximas impensas, cogimur ad subsidium præfati Sultan Bajazet recurrere, sperantes in amicitia bona quam ad invicem habemus, quod in tali necessitate juvabit nos : quem rogabis et nomine nostro exhortaberis, ac ex te persuadebis, cum omni instantia ; ut placeat quam citius mittere nobis ducatos quadraginta millia in auro Venetos pro *annata* anni præsentis, quæ finiet ultimo Novembris venturi, ut cum tempore possimus nobis subvenire, in quo Majestas sua faciet nobis rem gratissimam : cui in præsentiarum nolumus imponere aliud gravamen et * * exponendo vires et conatus nostros in resistentia facienda ne dictus Rex Franciæ aliquam victoriam contra nos potiatur et contra fratrem S. Majestatis. Cum autem ipse Rex Franciæ terra marique sit longe potentior nobis, indigeremus auxilio Venetorum, qui sistunt, nec volunt nobis esse auxilio, imo habent arctissimum commercium cum inimicis nostris, et dubitamus quod sint nobis contrarii, quod esset nobis magnum argumentum offensionis, et non reperimus aliam viam convertendi ad partes nostras tractandas, quam per viam ipsius Turcæ, cui denotabis ut supra, et quod si Franci victores forent, sua Majestas pateretur magnum interesse ; tum propter ereptionem Gem Sultan fratris sui, tum etiam quia proseguerentur expeditionem et longe cum majori conatu contra *Altitudinem suam*, et in tali causa habebunt auxilium ab His-

panis, Anglicis, Maximiliano et Hungaris, Polonis et Bohemis, qui omnes sunt potentissimi Principes. Persuadebis et exhortaberis Majestatem suam, quam tenemur certiore reddere ob veram et bonam amicitiam quam habemus ad invicem, ne patiatur aliquod interesse; ut statim mittat unum Oratorem ad dominium Venetorum, significando qualiter certo intellexit Regem Franciæ movere se ad veniendum Romam ad capiendum Gem Sultan fratrem, inde regnum Neapolitanum, demum terraque et mari contra se præparare, quod velit facere omnem resistantiam et se defendere contra ipsum, et devitare, ne frater suus capiatur ex manibus nostris, quos exhortetur et adstringat pro quanto correspondet pendant cari * perdant amicitiam suam, debeant esse adjumento et defensionis nostræ et Regis Alphonsi terra marique, et quod omnes amicos nostros et præmemoratum Regem habeat pro bonis amicis suis, et nostros inimicos pro inimicis; et si dominium pollicebitur consentire tali petitioni suæ, Orator habeat mandatum de non recedendo Venetiis quousque viderit effectum, et quod dicti Veneti declarent fecisse amicos et adjumento nobis, et Regi Alphonso, et esse contra amicos Francorum et aliorum adhærentium Regi Franciæ: et si contradixerint, Orator significet, quod non habeat eos amicos, et postea recedat ab eis indignatus; quamquam credimus, quod si sua Majestas ardentius adstringet eos, modo convenienti, condescendent ad faciendam voluntatem Majestatis suæ. Et sic persuadeas ei multum; ut facere hoc velit, quia istud est majus adjuvamen quod habere possumus * impetret, resistet injuriis nostris et sollicitabis quanto citius talem Oratorem, ut recedat ante, nam multum importat acceleratio tua.

Denotabis pariter magno Turcæ, adventum Oratoris magni Soldani ad nos cum litteris et muneribus quæ transmisit nobis quando Gem Sultan, fratrem suum * ac magnas oblationes et promissiones quas nobis fecit de magno thesauro ac de multis alijs rebus, et bene scis quandoquidem tuo medio omnia sunt practicata, et sicut continentur in capitulis quæ dictus orator fecit et dedit; significabis Majestati suæ intentionem nostram in quantum sibi promisimus firmiter

tenebimus, et nunquam contraveniemus in aliqua re. Imo nostræ intentionis est accrescere et meliorare nostram bonam amicitiam. Bene gratum nobis esset, et de hoc multum precamur et hortamur D. S. quod pro aliquo tempore non impediat Hungarum neque in aliqua parte Christianitatis, et maxime in Croatia et Civitatibus Ragusiæ et Leguiae; quod faciendo et observando nos faciemus quod Hungarus non inferat ei aliquid damnum, et in hoc Majestas sua habebit compassionem complacendi nobis, attento maxime motu Francorum et aliorum Principum. Quod si in bellando perseveraret, habeat pro comperto sua Magnitudo, quod in ejus auxilio essent quamplures Principes Christiani et doleat Majestatem suam non fecisse, in ejus auxilio, secundum auxilium quod damus sibi, primo, ex officio quando sumus Pater et Dominus omnium Christianorum. Postea desideramus quietem Majestatis suæ ad bonam et mutuam amicitiam: quoniam si Majestas sua aliter statueret prosequi et molestare Christianos, cogeremur rebus consulere, cum aliter non possemus obviare maximis apparatibus qui fiunt contra Majestatem suam. Dedimus tibi duo brevia, quæ exhibebis Turcæ, in uno continetur *quod faciat*, tibi dare et consignare 40,000 ducatos pro *Annata præsentis*: aliud est Credentiæ ut præstet tibi fidem, in omnibus quæcunque nomine nostro sibi exposueris. Habitis 40,000 ducatis, in loco consueto, facies quietantiam secundum consuetudinem, et venies recto tramite cum navi tuta, et cum illuc applicaveris certiores nos reddes et expectabis responsum nostrum: Presens tua intimatio consistit in acceleratione, facies ergo diligentiam hic in eundo ad Turcam in expeditione et in redeundo similiter.

Ego Georgius Bosardus, Nuntius et familiaris præfatæ Sanctitatis, per præsens scriptum et subscriptum manu mea propria, fidem facio et confiteor supradicta habuisse in commissis ab ore præfatæ Sanctitatis, Romæ de mense Junii M.CCCC.LXXXIII, et executum fuisse apud magnum Turcam in quantum fuit mihi ordinatum, ut supra: et quantum ad Oratorem quem requisivit Sanctitas sua a Turca mittendum Venetias est obtentum, qui e vestigio debebat recedere

Constantinopoli de mense Septembris post me, ad exequendum in quantum erat voluntas præfatæ Sanctitatis cum illustrissimo Domino Venetorum; idem Georgius Bosardus manu propria scripsi et subscripsi. Et ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Foroloviensis, Apostolica et Imperiali Autoritate Notarius Publicus, suprascriptum inscriptionem et instructionem Originali de Senogallia transmisso, de verbo ad verbum transumpsi, et scripsi, nihil mutando aut addendo, et hoc ipsum transumptum prout jacebat ad literam feci requisitus et rogatus: In cujus testimonium hic me subscripsi et signum meum apposui consuetum. Florentiæ die 25. Novembris, anno 1494.

I.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Dei Gratia Rex Maximus et Imperator utriusque Continentis Asiæque et Europæ, Christianorum excellenti Patri et D. D. Alexandro divina Providentia Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pontifici dignissimo, Reverentiam debitam et benevolam cum sincera dispositione. Post convenientem et justam salutationem significamus tuo supremo Pontificio quemadmodum in præsentis misistis vestrum hominem et legatum Georgium Bosardum cum literis quæ continebant de vestra salute et amore et amicitia: venit et pervenit in optimo tempore ad meam altissimam portam, et didicimus quæ per literas significabantur: et quæ commisistis ipsi dicere ex ore, retulit etiam coram magnitudine mea integra quemadmodum tua Gloriositas ipsi mandavit. Cum didicerimus primum nos de salute et bona habitudine tuæ Dominationis delectati sumus maxime, et exultavit spiritus meus propterea, et illis quæ per ipsum significastis assensimus etiam, et fecimus ipsa, et misimus etiam ad loca quæ significastis, ut mitteremus sicut volebat Magnitudo vestra. Ulterius et id quod conventum est, *quamvis ad nostrum terminum satis temporis reliquum sit*, tamen de quo scripsistis et petiistis ipsum cum festinatione datum est. Prædictus Legatus Georgius jam perfecit omnia bene, quæcunque requirit officium Legati, unde et honoratus est digne a mea altitudine, ut ipsum decet: misimus etiam una cum ipso a

nostra altissima porta fidelem nostrum hominem Cassimen, et data est sibi licentia, ut rursus ad tuum Pontificium redeat: nostra enim amicitia Dei voluntate in dies augebitur. Nuntiis autem vestræ salutis nunquam nos privetis, ut audientes magis delectemur. Datum in Aula Nostræ Sultanicæ Autoritatis in Constantinopoli 1494. anno a Jesu Prophetæ Nativitate, die Octava decima Septembris.

II.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Dei Gratia, Rex Maximus, et Imperator utriusque continentis Asiæque et Europæ, Christianorum omnium Excellenti Patri et Domino Alexandro divina Providentia summo Pontifici dignissimo, reverentiam debitam et benevolentiam cum sincera dispositione: dignum et fidelem vestrum hominem et legatum Georgium Bosardum in Altissimam portam misistis: venit et attulit nuntios de vestra salute et bona habitudine et delectavit nos mirifice; attulit etiam et verba quæ mandastis ipsi privatim et etiam misistis integre: et didicimus, et bene commisimus et nos ipsi sermones, ut nuntiet ipsos coram tuo Pontificio et detur sibi fides in his: quæcunque enim dixerit, sunt verba nostra indubitata: etiam præfatus Georgius perfecit omnia bene quæcunque requirit Officium Legati, unde et honoratus est digne a mea Altitudine secundum ipsius decentiam, et data est sibi licentia, ut redeat rursus in Aulam tuæ Magnitudinis et manifestet illi illa quæ nos ipsi commisimus. Datum in Aula nostræ Sultanicæ Autoritatis in Constantinopoli, 1494. anno a Jesu Prophetæ nativitate, 18. Septembris.

III.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Dei Gratia, &c. Alexandro Divina Providentia Romanæ Ecclesiæ supremo Pontifici dignissimo, &c. post convenientem et justam salutationem significamus tuæ Dominationi quemadmodum in præsentem fidelem nostrum Cassimen servum cum nostris literis misimus ad summum tuum Pontificium, ut ferat ad nos de vestra salute et bona habitudine quod nos cupimus quotidie audire et delectari; similiter significet etiam et vobis de nostra felici

sanitate et amore, ut et vos quæ de nobis sunt ab ipso dicenda audientes delectemini sicut et nos delectamur: jussimus etiam et est datum id quod est conventum prædicto servo meo Cassimi, ut perferat ipsum ad tuam gloriositatem; et cum auxilio Dei reversus fuerit rursus ad meam Altitudinem, significet nobis vestram salutem et amicitiam, ut inde cum audiverimus magis etiam delectemur, et quæ ipsi mandavimus nota faciet tuæ magnitudini. Datæ autem ipsi fidem in his quæcunque dixerit: datum in Aula nostræ Sultanicæ Auctoritatis in Constantinopoli, 1494. anno a Jesu Prophetæ nativitate, 18. Septembris.

IV.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, &c. Alexandro, &c. post convenientem et justam salutationem notum sit tuo supremo Pontificio, quemadmodum Reverend. D. Nicolaus Libo Archiepiscopus Arelatensis est dignus et fidelis homo ipsius, et a tempore præcedentis Papæ supremi Pontificis Domini Innocentii usque in hodiernum diem in tempus suæ magnitudinis continue ad pacem et amicitiam festinat, semperque anima et corpore in fidelissima fide duabus partibus servivit, et adhuc servit; hujus igitur rei causa justum est a vobis decerni majori in ordine ipsum esse debere, unde et *rogavimus supremum Pontificem, ut faceret illum Cardinalem, et assensus est nostræ petitioni*, adeo ut literis et nobis significaverit quod petitum est datum fuisse ipsi, verum, quia non erat tempus id Septembris Mensis, non sedet in ordine suo et ut requirit consuetudo. Interea vero jussu Dei dedit Pontifex commune debitum, et sic ipse remansit. Ea igitur de causa scribimus et rogamus tuam magnitudinem propter amicitiam et pacem quam inter nos habuimus, et propter meum cor, ut adimpleat ipsi tuum Pontificium, videlicet, ut faciat ipsum perfectum Cardinalem: habebimus et nos id in Magna Gratia. Datum, &c. ut supra.

Supra scriptæ quaternæ literæ erant scriptæ sermone in carta authentica more Turcarum cum quodam signo aureo in capite, quas literas transtulit in Latinum de verbo ad verbum me excipiente et notante * auditus vir Lascaris natione

Græcus ; assistente illi et adjuvante interpretationem Rever. D. Aloysio Cyprio Episcopo Famagustano Illustriss. Principis Salernitani Secretario. In cujus rei fidem et testimonium ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Foroliviensis Apostolica et Imperiali Autoritate Notarius Publicus omnia supradicta manu mea propria scripsi et subscripsi, et meum signum apposui rogatus et requisitus:

V.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Filius Soldani Mahumeti, Dei Gratia Imperator Asiæ, Europæ et oris maritimæ, Patri et Domino omnium Christianorum Divina Providentia Papæ Alexandro sexto Romanæ Ecclesiæ digno Pontifici, post debitam et meritoriam salutationem ex bono animo et puro corde significamus vestræ Magnitudini per Georgium Bosardum servitorem et nuntium vestræ Potentiæ. Intelleximus bonam convalescentiam suam, et etiam quæ retulit pro parte ejusdem vestræ magnitudinis, ex quibus lætati sumus magnamque consolationem cepimus : inter alia mihi retulit quomodo Rex Franciæ animatus est habere Gem fratrem nostrum, qui est in manibus vestræ Potentiæ, quod esset multum contra voluntatem nostram, et vestræ Magnitudinis sequeretur maximum damnum, et omnes Christiani paterentur detrimentum. Idcirco una cum præfato Georgio cogitare coepimus pro quiete, utilitate, et honore vestræ potentiæ et adhuc pro mea satisfactione, bonum esset quod dictum Gem, meum fratrem, qui subjectus est morti et detentus in manibus vestræ Magnitudinis, omnino mori faceretis, quod sibi vita esset, et potentiæ vestræ utile, et quieti commodissimum, mihiq; gratissimum ; et si in hoc Magnitudo vestra contenta sit complacere nobis, prout in sua prudentia confidimus facere velle, debet pro meliori suæ potentiæ et pro majori nostra satisfactione quanto citius poterit cum illo meliori modo quo placebit vestræ Magnitudini, dictum Gem levare facere ex angustiis istius mundi, et transferri ejus animam in alterum sæculum, ubi meliorem habebit quietem ; et si hoc adimplere faciet vestra potentia et mandabit nobis corpus suum in qualicunque loco citra mare, promittimus

Nos Sultan Bajazet supradictus, in quocunque loco placuerit vestræ Magnitudini ducatorum 300,000. ad emenda filiis suis aliqua Dominia, quæ ducatorum 300,000. consignare faciemus illi cui ordinabit vestra Magnitudo antequam sit nobis dictum corpus datum et per vestros meis consignatum. Adhuc promitto vestræ potentiae pro meliori sua satisfactione, quod neque per me, aut per meos servos neque etiam per aliquem ex patriis meis erit datum aliquod impedimentum aut damnum dominio Christianorum cujuscunque qualitatibus aut conditionis fuerit, sive in terra sive in mari, nisi essent aliqui qui nobis aut subditis nostris facerent damnum. Et pro majori adhuc satisfactione vestræ Magnitudinis, ut sit segura sine aliqua dubitatione de omnibus his quæ supra promitto, juravi et affirmavi omnia in præsentia, præfati Georgii per verum Deum quem adoramus, et per Evangelia nostra observare vestræ potentiae omnia usque ad complementum, nec aliqua re deficere sine defectu aut aliqua defectione. Et adhuc pro majori securitate vestræ Magnitudinis, ne ejus animus in aliqua dubitatione remaneat, imo sit certissimus de novo, ego supra dictus Sultan Bajazet Chan juro per Deum verum, qui creavit coelum et terram, et omnia quæ in iis sunt, et in quem credimus et adoramus, quod faciendo adimplere ea quæ supra eidem requiro, Promitto per dictum juramentum servare omnia quæ supra continentur et in aliqua re nunquam contra facere neque contravenire vestræ Magnitudini. Scriptum Constantinopoli in Palatio nostro secundum adventum Christi, Die 12. Septembris, 1494.

Ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Foroliviensis Apostolica et Imperiali Autoritate Notarius publicus infra scriptus, literas ex Originali quod erat scriptum literis Latinis, in sermone Italico in carta oblonga Turcarum, quæ habebat in Capite Signum Magni Turcæ aureum in calce nigrum, transumsi fideliter de verbo ad verbum, et manu propria rogatus et requisitus scripsi et subscripsi, signumque meum in fidem et testimonium consuetum apposui Florentiæ die vigesima quinta Novembris, 1494. in Conventu Crucis Ordinis minorum.

No. XLI.

(Page 223.)

Opere di Tebaldeo: Ven. 1534.

SONETTO.

Ne i tuoi campi non pose il pie sì presto
 Annibal, che combatter li convenne,
 Nè mai sì afflitta il Barbaro ti tenne
 Che al difender non fusse il tuo cor desto ;
 Et hor, Italia, onde procede questo,
 Che un picciol Gallo che l'altri hier quì venne
 Per ogni nido tuo batta le penne
 Senza mai ritrovarse alcuno infesto ?
 Ma giusto esser mi par-ch' el ciel te abassi,
 Che più non fai Camilli, o Scipioni,
 Ma sol Sardanapali, e Midi e Crassi;
 Già una Ocea tua (se guardi a i tempi buoni)
 Scacciar lo puote da li Tarpei sassi,
 Hor Aquile non pon, Serpi, e Leoni.

Poesie Toscane di Vincenzio da Filicaia.

SONETTO.

ITALIA, Italia, O tu, cui feo la sorte
 Dono infelice di bellezza, onde hai
 Funesta dote d' infiniti guai,
 Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte ;
 Deh, fossi tu men bella, o almen più forte,
 Onde assai più ti paventasse, o assai
 T'amasse men, chi del tuo bello a i rai
 Par che si strugga, e pur ti sfida a morte !
 Che or giù dall' Alpi non vedrei torrenti
 Scender d' armati, nè di sangue tinta
 Bever l' onda del Po Gallici armenti ;

Nè te vedrei del non tuo ferro cinta
 Pagnar col braccio di straniera genti,
 Per servir sempre, o vincitrice, o vinta.

No. XLII.

(Page 226.)

Vergier d'Honneur.

Le samedy son armee diverse
 Assez matin se partit du dict Verce,
 Et tost apres il monta a cheval
 Pour aller boire dedans *Pouge Real*;
 Qui est ung lieu de plaisance confit,
 Aussi Alphons pour son plaisir le fit,
 Aupres de Napples ou en toutes manieres,
 Y a des choses toutes singulieres ;
 Comme maisons, amignons, fenestrages,
 Grans galleries, longues, amples et larges ;
 Jardins plaisans, fleurs de douceurs remplies,
 Et de beaulte sur toutes acomplies,
 Petis preaulx, passaiges et barrieres
 Costes, fontaines et petites rivieres,
 Pour sesjouyr et a fois sesbatre ;
 Ou sont ymaiges antiques d'alabastre,
 De marbre blanc, et de porphire aussi,
 Empres le vif ou ne fault ca ne si ;
 Ung parc tout clos ou sont maints herbes saines
 Beaucoup plus grans que le bois de Vicennes :
 Plains d'oliviers, orangiers, grenadiers,
 Figuiers, datiers, poiriers, allemandiers,
 Pommiers, lauriers, rosmarins, mariolaines,
 Et girofflees sur toutes souveraines ;
 Nobles heueillets, plaisantes armeries,
 Qui en tous temps sont la dedans flories ;
 Et de rosiers assez bien dire j'ose
 Pour en tirer neuf ou dix muyts d'une rose ;

D'aultres costes sont fosses et herbaiges
La ou que sont le grans bestes saulvaiges ;
Comme chevreulx a la course soubdains,
Cerfs haultx branchez, grosses biches et dains ;
Aussi y sont sans cordes ne ataches
Aux pastouraiges grans beufs et grasses vaches ;
Chevaulx, mulets et jumens par monceaux,
Asnes, cochons, truyes et gras pourceaulx ;
Et puis au bout de toutes ses praeries
Sont situes les grandes metairies,
La ou que sont avec chappons, poullailles,
Toutes manieres et sortes de voulailles,
Cailles, perdris, pans, signes et faisans,
Et maints oyseaulx des yndes moult plaisans ;
Aussi a ung four a oeufs couver,
Dont l'on pourroit sans geline eslever ;
Mille poussins qui en auroit affaire,
Voire dix mille qui en vouldroit tant faire.
De ce dit parc sort une grant fontaine
Qui de vive eaue est si trescomble et plaine,
Que toute Napples peult fournir et laver,
Et toutes bestes grandement abeuver.

Aussi y a vignoble d'exellence,
Dont il en sort si tresgrant habondance
De vins clairets, de vin rouge et vin blanc,
Grec et latin, que pour en parler franc
Sans les exquis muscadets et vins cuyts
Q'on y queult bien tous les ans mille muyts ;
Voire encore plus quant le bon heur revient ;
Et tout cela au prouffit du roy vient.
Et au regard des caves qui y sont
En lieu certain approprie parfont,
Si grandes sont, si longues et si larges,
Et composees de si subtils ouvraiges,
Tant en piliers comme voulsture ronde,
Qui n'en est point de pareilles au monde.

No. XLIII.

(Page 234.)

*Petri Criniti Opera, p. 548.*AD BER. CARAPHAM, DE MALIS ATQUE CALAMITATE
NEAPOLIS.

MITTANTUR veteres tot querimoniæ,
Carapha, et lacrymis pone modum tuis ;
Indulsti patriæ, dum licuit, satis ;
Sed frustra superos vocas.

Nam fatis trahimur, fata Neapolim
Vexari miseris cladibus imperant,
Et duro pariter servitio premi,
Donec, non alium queat

Regem Parthenope cernere maximum,
Qui clarum propriis nomen honoribus
Sublimis liquidum tollat in æthera,
Et firmum reparet decus.

Id quando acciderit, non satis audeo
Effari ; si quidem non clarius mihi
Per sacros tripodes certa refert Deus,
Nec servat penitus fidem.

Quod si quid liceat credere adhuc tamen,
Nam lævum tonuit, non fuerit procul
Quærendus celeri qui properet gradu,
Et Gallum reprimat ferox.

ladicte eglise fut assez bonne piece, car les seigneurs de l'eglise y estoient aussi tous acoustres de leurs riches ornemens, lesquels semblablement firent leurs requestes et demandes au Roy touchant leurs cas particuliers. Ausquels ledit seigneur, comme debonnaire et humain, le fist et donna responce tout en facon telle qu'ils se tindrent pour contens. Puis tout ce faict et ordonne en la facon et maniere que dit est, et de la se partit et s'en alla le Roy, et alla souper et coucher a son logis.

No. XLV.

(Page 256.)

Petri Criniti Opera, p. 541.

DE LAUDE FR. GONZAGÆ PRINCIPIS ILLUSTRISSIMI MANTUANI,
CUM AD TARRUM CONTRA GALLOS DIMICAVIT.

O quis beato carmine tam potens,
Tantumque clara nobilis indole,
Aut dote rara polleat ingeni,
Ut hoc egregium decus
Cantare Italidum queat ?
Qui nuper audax vindice dextera
Horrenda victos repulit agmina
Gallorum ; et idem reddidit Italis
Antiquum imperium, atque opes ;
Salve o præsidium et salus.
Tu solus autor Barbaricam luem
Visendus acri ferreus agmine
Represti : et inter mille cadentium
Cædes horrificas virum,
Virtutis retines decus.
Tu præpotentis gloria Mantuæ
Tarrum cruentas cæde potentior
Ferrata sævæ robora Galliæ
Perrumpens, simul impetu
Obtruncans aciem hostium.

Non aliter atrox diruit in Gethas
 Gradivus olim; cum clypeo gravi,
 Oppressa Thracum fortia pectora,
 Contrivit miseris modis,
 Sese constituens Deum.
 Sic tu receptis arduus Italis,
 Vindex nefandi vincula serviti
 Injecta rumpis; nec pateris tuos;
 Fidentes male Barbaris,
 Servire imperio truci.
 Hinc promerenti populifer Padus.
 Illapsus undis suave virentibus,
 Gestit perennes reddere gratias;
 Et gramen tenerum ferens,
 Acclinat capiti sacro.
 Porgunt et Alpes candida brachia,
 Possint ut alto vertice clarius,
 Summum tueri præsidium Ausonum,
 Quo stat militiæ gradus,
 Et firmum columen suis.
 Lætare tanto Mantua principe;
 Et dic, quiescam sub clypeo Jovis,
 Donec licebit cernere sospitem,
 Qui signa et veteres opes
 Devictæ Italiæ refert.

 No. XLVI.

(Page 256.)

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. tom. iii. p. 183.

LÆLII CAPILUPI.

In Effigiem Francisci Gonzagæ Marchionis Mantuæ IV.

O DECUS Italiæ, quondam dum vita manebat,
 Sceptra tenens, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat

Mincius, et tenera prætexit arundine ripas,
 Semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,
 Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos reget artus!
 Salve vera Jovis proles, Tu maximus ille es,
 Unus qui nobis, magno turbante tumultu,
 Ante annos animumque gerens, curamque virilem,
 Ultro animos tollis dictis; et pectore firmo,
 Arduus arma tenens, fulgentes ære catervas
 More furens torrentis aquæ, Gallumque rebellem,
 Sternis humi, campique ingentis ossibus alpent.
 Parthenope, meriti tanti non immemor umquam,
 Dexterâ caussa tua est, solio consedit avito.
 Quid memorem spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis
 Jam vulgata? quibus cœlo te laudibus æquem,
 Flos veterum virtusque virum? cui cura nitentes
 Pascere equos, meritæ expectent qui præmia palmæ,
 Europa, atque Asia, tantæ est victoria curæ;
 Tu decus omne tuis, tu servantissimus æqui
 Omnibus exhaustos jam casibus, omnium egenos
 Urbe, domo, socias. Tua terris dedita fama;
 Munera præterea ex auro solidoque elephanto
 Conjungere tibi (cuncti se scire fatentur)
 Regnatorem Asiæ, genus insuperabile bello,
 Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos:
 Salve sancte parens, Italum fortissime ductor,
 Felix prole virum, si quid mea carmina possunt,
 Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

No. XLVII.

(Page 282.)

Burchard. Diar. from Gordon's Life of Alex. VI. App.

De cæde Ducis Gandiæ.

FERIA quarta, octava Junii Rever. D. Cardinalis Valentinus et Illustrissimus Johannes Borgia de Arragonia Gandiæ

Dux, Princeps, S. R. E. gentium Armorum videlicet Capitaneus generalis, S. D. N. Papæ filii carissimi, fecerunt cœnam D. Vanotiæ, matri eorum, positæ prope Ecclesiam Sancti Petri ad Vincula, cum ipsa eorum matre et aliis; cœna facta, nocte cursum agente, et Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Valentino reditum eorum ad Palatium Apostolicum sollicitante, apud Ducem et Capitaneum fratrem suum prædictum, ascenderunt equos sive mulas ambo ipsi cum paucis ex suis, quoniam paucissimos servitores secum habebant; et simul ambo equitarunt usque non longe a palatio R. D. Ascanii Vice-Cancellarii quod olim S. D. N. tunc Vice-cancellarius inhabitare consueverat et construxerat; ubi D. Dux asserens se priusquam ad Palatium reverteretur, alio solatii causa iturum, accepta a prædicto Cardinali fratre venia retrocessit, remissis omnibus illis paucis servitoribus quos secum habebat, retento solum Stafiero, et quodam qui *facie velata* ad cœnam ad eum venerat, et per mensem vel circa prius singulis vel quasi diebus eum in Palatio Apostolico visitaverat, in mula quam ipse Dux equitabat retro se accepto, equitavit ad plateam Judæorum, ubi prædictum Stafierum licentiavit et a se versus Palatium remisit, tantum committens quod ad horam vigesimam tertiam in dicta platea expectaret, infra quam si ad eum non reverteretur, ad dictum palatium rediret: et his dictis præfatus Dux cum velato in groppa suæ mulæ considente a Stafiero recessit, ex quo equitavit nescio ubi, interfectus et necatus est, et in flumen prope eum locum juxta seu prope hospitale Sancti Hieronymi Sclavorum nuncupatum in via qua de ponte Sancti Angeli recta via itur ad Ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ de populo juxta fontem ex terra conductum situm, per quem finis super carrucis seu carretis ad ipsum flumen projici consuevit, et projectus est. Stafierus autem prædictus in plateam Judæorum dimissus graviter vulneratus et usque ad mortem mutilatus est, et a quodam misericorditer exceptus et cura et impensa, qui sic perturbatus, nequiquam quid de Domini sui commissione et successu significavit. Mane autem facto Jovis quindecima Junii, Duce prædicto ad Palatium Apostolicum non redeunte, servitores sui

secreto conturbantur, et unus eorum Ducis prædicti et Cardinalis Valentini serotinum recessum et expectatum ejus reditum mane Pontifici indicat. Perturbatus exinde Pontifex et tamen ipsum Ducem alicubi cum puella intendere luxui sibi persuadens et ob eam causam e puellæ domo exire illa die ipsi Duci non licere, sperabat eum in sero illius diei Jovis omnino rediturum, quo deficiente, Pontifex animo contristatus, ac totis visceribus commotus, incoepit omnibus conatibus causam inquirere apud quoscunque per plures ex suis ad hoc appellatos. Inter inquisitos quidam Georgius Sclavus, qui ligna habebat supra fontem prope designatum, in Tyberis littore ex nave exonerata, et ut illam custodiret, ne sibi in nocte a quoquam furarentur, in naviculam ibidem, in Tyberi natantem, se quieti dederat, interrogatus si quidquam vidisset in nocte Mercurii tunc proxime præteriti in flumen projici, interrogantibus fertur tale responsum dedisse: Quod nocte illa ligna sua ipso custodiente et in dicta navicula quiescente, venerunt duo pedites per viculum sinistrum dicti hospitalis Sclavorum et Sancti Hieronymi contiguum circa horam quintam super viam publicam dicto flumini contiguum, et hinc inde, ne quisquam forsitan esset transiturus, diligenter perspexerunt; ac nemine viso, retrocesserunt per eundem viculum: intermisso modico temporis intervallo duo alii eundem viculum exiverunt et fecerunt idem quod primi fecerant, et nemine comperto, dato signo sociis, venit unus equestris in equo albo retro se habens cadaver hominis defuncti, cujus caput et brachia ab una et pedes ab alia parte dependebant, penes quod cadaver duo pedites primi prædicti ambulabant, hinc inde cadaver ipsum ne de equo caderet sustinentes; recesseruntque ac equitarunt supra locum per quem fimus ad flumen projicitur superius specificatum, ac circa finem ejusdem loci constitutum equum verterunt, ut caudam verteret flumini, et duo alii pedites prædicti cadaver observantes alter per manus et brachia, alter vero per pedes et crura cadaver ipsum ex equo detraxerunt et ad partem sustulerunt brachiis, et ad flumen ipsum cum omni vi et potentia projecerunt.

Interrogavit eos astans insidens equo, si dejecissent; illi

autem responderunt, *Signor si*; respexit tunc insidens in equo in flumen, et mantellum introjecti vidit natantem supra flumen, et interrogavit pedites quid esset nigrum illud natans quod videtur; illi responderunt mantellum; ad quod alter lapides projecit ut mergeret in profundum, quo facto mantello merso recesserunt omnes quinque, nam pedites alii duo qui secundo stratellam prædictam exiverant prospicientes si quis pertransiret, se equiti prædicto et aliis duobus associaverunt, eosque comitati sunt, et per alium viculum qui ad hospitale Sancti Jacobi dat aditum, iter arripuerunt et ultra non comparuerunt. Interrogaverunt Pontificis servitores, cur ipse Georgius tantum crimen non revelasset gubernatori urbis, respondit se vidisse suis diebus centum varie occisos in flumen projici per locum prædictum et nunquam aliqua eorum ratio habita fuit, propterea de causa hujusmodi æstimationem aliquam non fecisse. His intellectis vocati sunt piscatores et nautæ per urbem et eis ejus hominis piscatio commissa: convenerunt piscatores et nautæ, ut intellexi, tres vel circa, qui omnes suis instrumentis per fluminis alveum projectis circa horam vesperarum reperierunt ducem cum omni adhuc habitu suo, videlicet calceis, caligis, diploide, vestello, mantello vestitutum, sub cingulo habens chirotecas suas cum Ducatis triginta, vulneratus novem vulneribus, quorum unum erat in collo per guttur, alia octo in capite, corpore, et cruribus: compertus Dux naviculæ impositus est et ad castrum Sancti Angeli ductus in quo exutus, lotum est ejus cadaver et pannis militaribus indutum, *Socio meo Bernardino Gutterii Clerico ceremoniarum* omnia ordinante. In sero illius diei, circa horam vigesimam quartam, cadaver portatum est per familiares nobiles suos, si recte memini, ex dicto castro ad Ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ de populo præcedentibus intorcitiis circiter centum et viginti, et omnibus prælatis palatii, cubiculariis et scutiferis Papæ ipsum comitantibus cum magno fletu et ululatu sine ordine incidentibus, publice portabatur cadaver *in Cataletto* honorifice, et videbatur non mortuus sed dormiens. In Ecclesia prædicta factum est ei depositum, et in eo reconditum ubi manet usque ad hodiernum diem. Pontifex ut intellexit

Ducem interfectum et in flumen, ut stercus projectum compertum esse; commota sibi fuerunt omnia viscera, et præ dolore et cordis amaritudine reclusit se in quadam camera, et fleuit amarissime; Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Segobiensis cum certis aliis servitoribus Sanctitatis suæ adierunt ostium cameræ, et tot exortantibus et rogantibus supplicaverunt et persuaserunt Pontificem, ut tandem plures post horas aperto ostio eos intromitteret: non comedit nec bibit Pontifex ex sero die Mercurii quatuordecima, usque ad prædictum Sabbatum sequens, nec a mane Jovis usque ad diem sequentem ad punctum quidem horæ quievit; persuasu tandem multiplici et continuo præfatorum victus postremo incoepit pro posse luctui finem imponere, majus damnum et periculum quod personæ suæ evenire exinde posset considerans.

No. XLVIII.

(Page 315.)

Burchard. Diar. from Gordon's Life of Alex. VI. in App.

Ingressus Borgiæ Romam.

FERIA quarta, vigesima sexta dicti mensis Februarii, intimatum est de mandato Sanctissimi Domini nostri omnibus Cardinalibus, quod dicta die hora nona decima mitterent familias suas extra portam beatæ Mariæ de populo obviam Duci Valentino venienti: et omnibus Oratoribus conservatoribus et officialibus urbis et Romanæ Curiae Abbreviatoribus, Scriptoribus, quod personaliter irent obviam eidem. Die Veneris proxime præterita, vigesima-prima hujus, Cardinalis Ursinus venit obviam Duci prædicto usque ad Civitatem Castellanam, et die Sabbati vigesima secunda Cardinalis de Farnesio ivit obviam eidem usque ad eundem locum, omnes urbis Ordines extra pontem Milvium, ad tria vel quatuor miliaria equitarunt usque ad prata, ibidem Ducem expectantes; pulsata hora nona decima Cardinalis

Sanctæ Praxedis recessit de palatio et equitavit ante Domum Cardinalis Ursini, qui ibidem in mula eum expectavit in via; equitarunt simul ad Ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ de Populo, ubi expectarunt Ducem, qui intravit portam inter vigesimam secundam et vigesimam tertiam horam, et receptus fuit ab omnibus familiis, oratoribus et officialibus. Cardinales prædicti intelligentes Ducem appropinquare portæ, ascenderunt mulas, et expectaverunt eum ante portam in loco consueto, ubi detectis capitibus receperunt Ducem, detecto capite eis gratias agentem, qui equitavit medius inter dictos Cardinales usque ad palatium, via recta ad Ecclesiam Beatæ Mariæ in via lata, Minervam, domum de maximis, campum Floræ, inde recta via ad palatium. Ego non potui ordinare familiares, quia erant pedites Ducis circiter mille, quini et quini incedentes suo ordine, *Suicenses et Guascones* sub quinque vexillis armorum Ducis, qui non curarunt ordinem nostrum. Dux habuit circa se centum stafieros singuli singulos Roncones deferentes. Indutus erat veste velluti nigri usque ad genua collanam habens satis simplicem; habuit multos tibicines omnes cum armis suis et duos araldos suos et unum Regis Franciæ, qui volebat omnino ire post servientes armorum; conquestus fuit Duci, qui mandavit ei quod iret ante eos, quod fecit male libenter. Post nos equitarunt Dux Bisiliarum a dextris, et Princeps Squillaci filius Papæ a sinistris, quos secutus est Dux medius inter Cardinales prædictos: post eos Archiepiscopus Ragusinus a dextris, et Episcopus Sygoviensis *Orator Romanorum Regis* a sinistris. Archiepiscopus Cusentinus a dextris, Episcopus Trecorensis *Orator Regis Franciæ* a sinistris, Episcopus Zamorensis a dextris, et *Orator Regis Hispaniæ* a sinistris successive, et alii eodem ordine. Duo Oratores Regis *Navarræ* contenderunt cum Oratore Regis *Neapolitani* et *Angliæ* qui se illis animose opposuerunt; victi tamen illi duo Regis *Navarræ* cesserunt et recesserunt. Papa stetit supra lodiam in camera supra portam palatii et cum eo Cardinales Montis Regalis, Alexandrinus, Capuanus, Cesarinus, et Farnesius, postquam Dux venit ad cameram paramenti, Papa accessit ad cameram Papagalli, apportari fecit quinque

cussinos de broccato auri, unum poni ad sedem eminentem in qua sedit, unum sub pedibus suis et tria alia in terram per ordinem in transversum ante scabellum pedum suorum; aperto ostio intraverunt omnes nobiles Ducis et post eos inter Cardinales Dux qui genuflexus ante Pontificem fecit brevem orationem ad ipsum in vulgari *Hispanico*, agens sibi gratiam quod sibi absenti dignatus est facere tantam gratiam nescio quam, Papa respondit et in eodem vulgari, cum dux osculatus est pedes ambos Papæ et manum dextram, receptus a Pontifice ad osculum oris et post ducem nobiles qui volebant osculati sunt pedem.

No. XLIX.

(Page 316.)

Petri Criniti Opera, p. 546.

DE LUDOVICO SFORTIA PRINCIPE CLARISSIMO QUI PRODI-
TUS EST PER HELVETIOS.

OLIM vigebat Sfortiadum genus,
Et præpotenti milite nobilis
Princeps et astu, et consilio fuit:
Qui nunc Helvetium dolis
Vinctus nefanda compede, proh pudor,
Nequicquam inertes advocat Insubres:
Ut impudenter perfidus Allobrox
Stringendum dedit hostibus.
An hæc sacratæ fœdera dexteræ?
Quid jura belli sancta refringitis?
O non ferendum flagitium insolens;
Quid culpam sceleri additis?
Non hoc decebat Martia pectora.
Sed tuta nusquam est heu miseris fides.
Fortuna, certis nescia viribus
Tutari veterem gradum,

Cur tam procaci lubrica gaudio
 Gestis potentum vota repellere,
 Et celsa diro concutis impetu?
 Ne virtus nimium sibi
 Confidat, aut jactet proprium bonum,
 Si quando summis pollet honoribus?
 Tu nunc catenas, Sfortia, principum
 Immortale decus, teris.
 Circunligarunt undique barbara
 Nodis revinctum vincla tenacibus,
 Ne possit ullo tempore liberum
 Monstrare Italiae caput.

No. L.

(Page 316.)

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. i. p. 358.

LUDOVICI AREOSTI,

Ad Herculem Strozam.

AUDIVI, et timeo, ne veri nuncia fama
 Sit, quæ multorum pervolat ora frequens.
 Scin verum quæso? scin tu Strozza? eja age fare,
 Major quam populi, Strozza, fides tua sit.
 An noster fluvio misere? heu timeo omnia: at illa
 Dii prohibete, et eant irrita verba mea.
 Et redeat sociis hilari ore, suasque Marullus
 Ante obitum ridens audiat inferias.
 Fama, tamen vatem sinuoso vortice raptum
 Dulciloquam fluvio flasse, refert, animam,
 Scin verum quæso? scin tu Strozza? eja age fare
 Major quam populi, Strozza, fides tua sit.
 Ut timeo! nam vana solet plerumque referre
 Fama bonum, at nisi non vera referre malum.

Quamque magis referat sævum, crudele, nefandum,
 Proh superi, est illi tam mage habenda fides;
 Quod potuit gravius deferri hoc tempore nobis,
 Qui sumus in Phœbi, Pieridumque fide,
 Quam mors divini (si vera est fama) Marulli?
 Juppiter, ut populi murmura vana fluant!
 Scin verum quæso? scin tu Strozza! eja age fare,
 Major quam populi, Strozza, fides tua sit.
 Nam foret hæc gravior jactura mihiq̃ue, tibiq̃ue,
 Et quemcumque sacræ Phocidos antra juvent,
 Quam vidisse mala tempestate (improba sæcli
 Conditio) clades, et Latii interitum,
 Nuper ab occiduis illatum gentibus, olim
 Pressa quibus nostro colla fuere iugo.
 Quid nostra? an Gallo Regi? an servire Latino?
 Si sit idem, hinc atque hinc, non leve servitium.
 Barbaricone esse est pejus sub nomine, quam sub
 Moribus? at ducibus Dii date digna malis;
 Quorum quam imperium gliscente Tyrannide, tellus
 Saturni Gallos pertulit ante truces,
 Et servate diu doctumque, piumque Marullum;
 Redditeque actutum sospitem eum sociis;
 Qui poterit dulci eloquio, monitisque severis,
 Quos musarum haustu plurimo ab amne tulit,
 Liberam, et immunem (vincto et si corpore) mentem
 Reddere, et omne animo tollere servitium.
 Sit satis abreptum nuper flevisse parentem;
 Ah grave tot me uno tempore damna pati!
 Tarchoniota aura ætheria vescatur, et inde
 Cetera sint animo damna ferenda bono.
 Scin verum quæso? scin tu Strozza? eja age fare,
 Major quam populi, Strozza, fides tua sit.
 At juvat hoc potius sperare, quod opto, Marullum
 Jam videor læta fronte videre meum.
 An quid obest sperare homini dum grata sinit res?
 Heu lacrimis semper sat mora longa datur.

ANTONII TEBALDEI.

Hic situs est celebris cithara, gladioque Marullus,
 Qui Thusco (heu facinus) liquit in amne animam;
 Neptune immitis ! meruit si mergier ille,
 Mergier Aonio flumine debuerat.

No. LI.

(Page 379.)

(Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 300.)

No. I.

*Lettere di Lucrezia Borgia, Duchessa di Ferrara, a Gian-
 Giorgio Trissino.*

MAGNIFICE Amice Nr. Carissime: havendo facto inten-
 der allo Ill.mo Signor Nro. Consorte tutto el ragionamento
 havessimo de lo Illmo. D. Hercule nro figliolo carissimo,
 Sua Ex. ne ha riceputo grandissimo contento, et perchè lei
 desideraria chel puto intertanto nò perdesse tempo la seria
 contenta, che per vro mezzo segli ritrovasse uno M.ro in
 gramatica. Così a detto de parlarvine, et noi havemo vo-
 luto anticiparvi cum questo adviso pregandovi, conoscendo
 maxime che questo non torna a disonore nè incommodo al-
 trimenti vro a volervi disponer a satisfar al P.to S.or N.ro
 et a noi principando cum questo il pigliare del governo et
 cura del P.to N.ro figliolo, e quanto più presto l' haveremo
 tanto più grato, et se non simo stata più presta a darvi tale
 adviso l'è proceduto, che prima di adesso non havemo po-
 tuto ritrovarsi col P.to S.or nro. il quale questa setta è par-
 tito de quì, et offerimone di bon core alli vri beneplaciti.

Belriguardi XVIII. Sept. 1515.

A nra et vra. satisfactione havemo parlato col S.r Her-
 cule da Camerino, che viene a Ferrara, il quale più particu-
 larmente vi dirà di ciò lo ano nro.

LUCRETIA, *Ducissa Ferrariae.*

Tergo.

Mag. Amico Nro. Car.mo Dno. Io. Georgio Trissino.

No. II.

Mag.ce ac doctissime Vir amice N.r Car.me. Mandas-
simo la vra. lra per nro. Cavallaro a posta a quel D. Nic.o
Lazarino ; et aprissimo la risposta, ch' esso mandava p. sa-
pere quel che diceva, e poi la rimettessimo all' Illmo. S.or
Nro. Consorte, dal quale non sapemo se vi fu mandata: essa
contenia solo, che ditto, D. Nic.o pigliava certo termino
breve a venir a nostri servitii: il qual passato noi havemo
rimandato altro nro. Cavallaro a sollicitarlo: et esso ha ris-
posto a Noi in maniera, che d' ora in hora lo expettamo: et
a voi scrive la qui alligata, pensando forsi, che voi fussi a
Ferrara: havemo voluto ch' el tutto vi sia noto: havemo
piacer intender per vre lre come state; et a vri beneplaciti
ci offerimo sempre. Ferrae XXII. Nobris 1515.

Pregovi, che vi piacqua raccomandarmi al R. mo
Car. le Gurcensis.

LUCRETIA, *Ducissa Ferrariae.*

Tergo.

Mag.co Doctiss.o Amico Nro. Carmo.

Dno Joan. Georgio Trissino S. D. N. Nuntio apud
Caesarem.

No. III.

M.co Mess. Jo. Georgio N.ro Car.mo Havendo inteso
da vro Cognato exhibitore di una vra a noi la diligente, et
amorevele opera fatta da Voi a nra satisfactione, è stata allo
Illmo S.re N.ro, al quale lungamente, et minutamente hab-
biamo comunicato el tutto, e parimente a Noi di rariss.o
contento, et veramente meritoria col dimostrato buon animo
vro di quella obbligatione, che l' uno e l' altro di Noi ve ne
sente. Et perchè haveressimo anco molto desiderio di poter
parzialmente parlar cum Voi nel ritorno vro di cose, che
sarebbe di molta opera, e di poco contento vro el scriverle,
mi fareste piacer molto singulare ad trasferirve sin quà; il
che facendo Voi serà più presto passata, che dimora. Et
da mo restando Noi in expectatione, di molto cor vi si offe-
riamo. Et bene valete.

Tergo.

Mag. Amico Nro. Car.mo Ioanni Georgio Trissino.

Romae.

In Ferrara XXVI. di Martio MDXVI.

La vra Duchessa di Ferrara.

No. IV.

Magnifice Amice Nr. Carissime: stando in expectatione di haver qualche nova di voi havemo havuta la vra, la quale mi è stata gratissima. E' vero, che mi seria stato molto più la persona, la quale speravamo dovesse esser più presto di quello voi significasi per la vra, se ben poi con molta humanità, et cortesia la remettete in nro arbitrio, del che n. potemo si n. ringratiarvene grandem.e; Qtunche a noi non para licito discontiarvi tanto quanto mostrati, che ve ne importi certe vre cose lie: havemo ben ultra modo gratissimo, che quando el tempo non sia superfluo lungo, expediti che siano quelli vri negotii vogliati omnino venirvene qua, et conservar non voglio dire la promessa, ma la speranza, che ci deste, quando ultimamente fusti quà, di havervi qualche tempo; et in quel mezo pigliarvi quella cura dell' Illmo nostro figliolo che Noi cum tanto afecto vi raccomandassimo, et di che lo Illmo. S.or N.ro, ed Noi non ne potiamo star con maggiore desiderio: et in questo proposito a vro contento vi advisiamo come el suo preceptore fino adesso non potria restare di lui più satisfacto, nè cum maggiore speranza de reportarvi honore, et cum facilità, secundo che pensiamo habiate anche inteso per sue lre, per il che non ci extenderemo altrimenti si non recordarvi, et certificarvi, che non siamo mai per mancar del nro bon amo verso di voi, et così ce vi offeriamo di bon core. Belriguardi p.o Junii 1516.

La vra Duchessa di Ferrara.

Tergo.

Mag.co Amico Nro Car.mo Joanni Georgio Trissino.

Romae.

No. V.

M. Giovan Giorgio mio Car.mo Ho ricevuto l'ultima vra la quale per haverme dato scientia di Voi, quel che sommamente desiderava, mi è stata gratissima, posto che molto più mi sarebbe stata la presentia vra. Ma come ho havuto dispiacere, ch' Ella mi sia stata dalli allegati negotii nel vro venire contesa, così havrò caro, che mi sia nel vro ritorno da voi concessa. Alle altre parte de detta vra, et a quanto me ha referto a bocca satisfarà vro Cognato nel riporto vi farà di me, la quale di molto cuore me vi offero, et racco.o

Di Ferrara el di XV. di Ottobre MDXVIII.

La vra *Duchessa di Ferrara*.

Tergo.

Mag. co Dno. Jo. Georgio Trissino Amico
Nro Carmo.

Lettera del Trissino al Bembo. Dal Segr. del. sig. Panfilo Persico stampato in Venetia, 1620, p. 246.

(*Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 195.*)

Vedo che la soave e modesta natura di V. S^rs' è nondimeno alquanto sopra il dovere commossa dal non haver ottenuto da me la medaglia richiestami; della qual io non son così ingiusto o avaro estimatore, che non conosca quanto più di gran lunga si deva prestar la vostra gratia, e sodisfattione. Ma l'haverla sotto la conditione, ch' io l' ho, da chi n' è più padrone, che non son io, non permette, ch' io possa far con essa quest' acquisto dell' amor di V.S. che comprarei con altro qual si voglia maggior prezzo. Che se la somiglianza, che vi rende questa medaglia della donna amata, v' ha fatto stimar giusto il desiderio d' haverla in vostra balia, perchè non dovete stimar giusto altresì il medesimo rispetto in me di ritenerla, oltre la fede, che m' obbliga a non la separar da me per alcun caso? Duo forti legami amor e fede mi contendono il poter fare a Vostra Signoria questo dono, da' quali mi rendo certo, che non mi vorrà sciorre il giudizio e la bontà di lei che s' ama o prezza in me parte alcuna, che buona sia, deve sopra tutte amare,

e prezzar queste, che in lei sono in grado così eccellente. Onde mi persuado, che lasciate adietro le cagioni, che vi par d' havere di querelarvi di me, farete appresso la vostra gentilezza più cortese adito alle mie scuse; ne vi rimarrete d' essercitar sopra di me quell' autorità, che havete di disporre a vostro piacere, persuadendovi, che maggiore è in me il risentimento di non haver potuto servir Vostra Signoria, che non è stata in lei la noia d' havermi richiesto indarno.

END OF VOL. I.

